

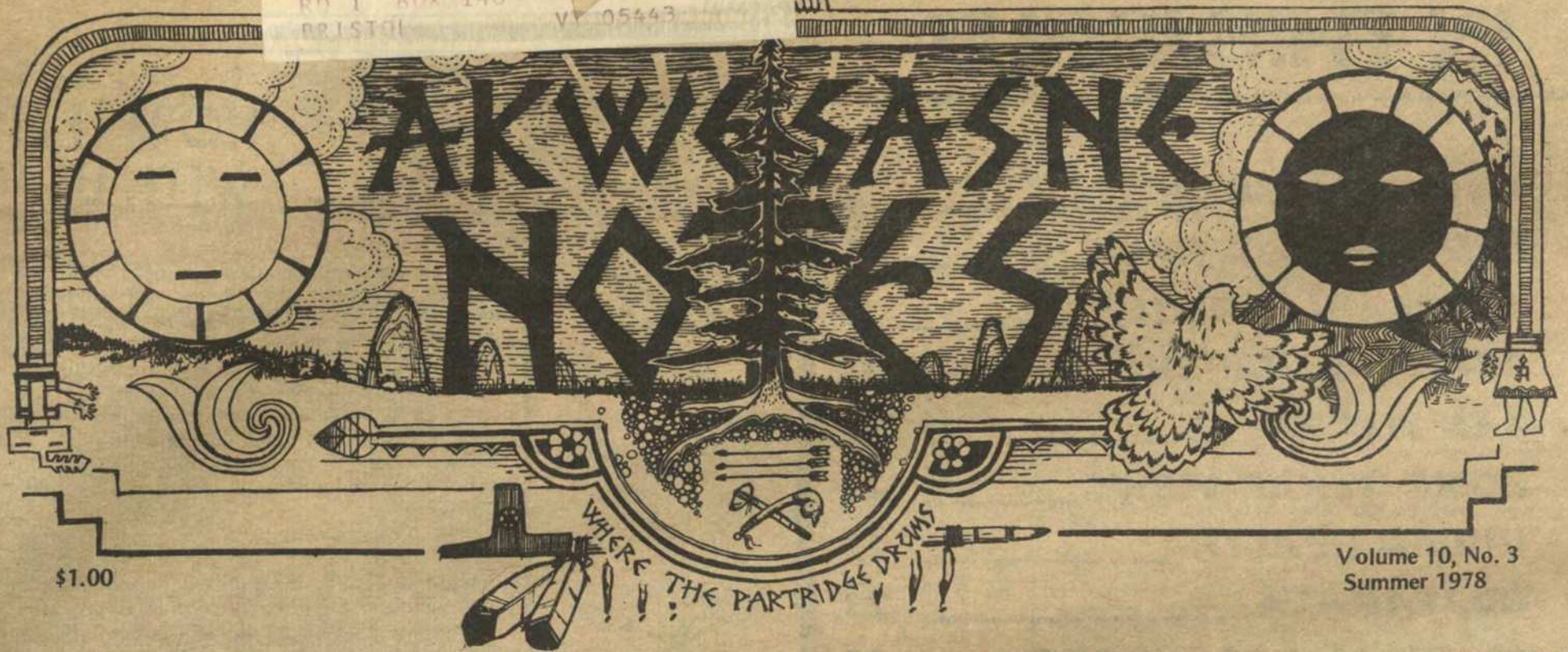
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Volume 10, No. 3
Summer 1978



A JOURNAL FOR NATIVE AND NATURAL PEOPLES

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HOW IT IS WITH US

There are many events of the recent weeks which have served to inspire our work. It's not that the Native people are making great gains in their relations with the governments of this hemisphere — in fact there is much sadness in the news of events on those fronts. But the People are coming together, getting stronger, and they are growing in the spiritual ways. If there is one thing that we are hopeful of seeing, it is the spiritual rebirth and regeneration of our Peoples, and indeed, all the Peoples of the world. And that is growing. It is small yet, but it is growing.

As this is being written, it is in our minds that the people of AKWESASNE NOTES who are responsible for paying the bills and dealing with the technical aspects of the production of this newspaper would like our readers to know that, as always, donations to the newspaper lag well behind our operating and production costs. It is unfortunate but true that many people receive this newspaper who either cannot or simply do not care to pay for their share of its costs. Basically, we face the same dilemma that we have always faced — costs are rising but revenues are not. If you are reading this and you haven't sent in a donation for a while, please, while you have the paper in your hands, consider making a donation to our efforts.

Except for finances, things at NOTES seem to be going pretty well. We have several new staff members, and as this paper goes to press, we will be moving a major part of the shipping and mail-handling operation to an office on the Akwesasne territory.

There are some special acknowledgements which should be given in this issue. Louie Cook donated his time and expertise to record many of the speeches which are carried in this issue, and NOTES would have been something less than it is without his help. Also, Maynard Stanley made a valiant effort to obtain a taped copy of an interview which took place in Washington. It doesn't appear in this issue (maybe it will appear later) but we want to acknowledge his effort.

There really are many, many unmentioned people who make this newspaper possible. If there is one thing that needs to be mentioned in a column called "How It Is With Us," it is that we really have a feeling of unity with a much larger community of people. Despite the set-backs and the day-to-day problems, we know that we are truly part of something exciting and beautiful.

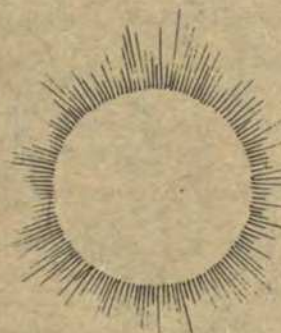
We hope that you are part of it too. We asked a friend who came to visit us from the Longest Walk, How are things in your country? He is one of the Buddhist people from Japan. He smiled and said, "things must change." And at dawn we saw him with his song and his drum greet the morning sun. Yes, things must change. We dedicate this issue to the Spirit of that change. This is how it is with us....

AKWESASNE NOTES SPEAKERS' BUREAU

Akwesasne Notes Speakers Bureau lists some of the best-known and best-informed public speakers in a wide range of topic areas in Indian affairs. NOTES offers a coordination service in the belief that public speakers can have a significant impact on the consciousness of communities across this continent.

If your community, university, school, or other organization feels that a Native speaker could shed some light on the issues of the day in a personal way, then we urge you to take advantage of this service. When you contact us, we will contact a speaker who we feel can meet the needs you have expressed.

Different people have different needs in terms of money. Some people can travel and work for \$100 per day, others need more. It is expected that with any speaking arrangement, the hosts will assume the costs of travel, food, and lodging. Each issue, we will try to introduce you to a different speaker in the Bureau.



A NEW WAY TO HELP NOTES

Your Contributions to AKWESASNE NOTES can now be tax-deductible.

The Youth Project of Washington, D.C., a public foundation, under 501-3-C of the Internal Revenue Code has agreed to take NOTES under its wing as a research and educational project.

If you would like to support these efforts and receive the benefit of a tax-deductible contribution your check should be made out to Akwesasne Notes/ The Youth Project, and sent to us here at NOTES.

You will receive a letter of receipt that you can keep for your income tax records.

We still do not accept government funds, but we urge you to take advantage of this opportunity to help our message grow.

The AKWESASNE NOTES People.

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AKWESASNE NOTES PEOPLE: Bob, Cheryl, Kaientares, Sugar Bear, Roberta, Alan, Dan B., Lois and Leonie Cook, Earl, Helen, and Joseph, Gina and Sunny, Gai-ha-tah, Keith, Adam, Verna, and Wenjie, Segwalise, Sotsisowah, and many, many others.

FOR SALE

AKWESASNE NOTES would like to sell some type-setting equipment. We have a three-year-old IBM Selectric Recorder Magnetic Tape Model V and an IBM Selectric Composer MT/Reader system which originally cost over \$16,000. This newspaper was typeset with this equipment. Make offer. Serious inquiries only, by mail or to (518) 483-2540. Package deal.

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**AKWESASNE
NOTES**
WHERE THE PAST IS OUR GUIDE

ISSN: 0002-3949

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AKWESASNE NOTES SPEAKERS BUREAU PRESENTS:

Sakokwenonkwas (Mr. Thomas Porter).



Traditional messages: Areas of discussion by Sakokwenonkwas are: Indian prayer, prophecy, religion, history, values, ecology.

Current issues: Indian/non-Indian relationships, treaties and land problems, personal experiences, education, government and missionaries.

Films: Films on Indians' past history and present causes, produced, directed and presented by Indian filmmakers.

Sakokwenonkwas is recognized by many traditional Indians as a respected spokesman for our Way of Life. He is a sub-chief of the Mohawk Bear Clan at Akwesasne. He normally receives an honorarium of \$300 plus travel, food and lodging.



BACK ISSUES FOR \$6

The entire set of available back issues of AKWESASNE NOTES is available at \$6.00 per set. There are, as supplies hold, approximately twenty-four issues of the newspaper in each set.

Early issues of AKWESASNE NOTES are no longer in print, and our current stock is dwindling. Therefore, we make this offer to people who may have a need of this invaluable repository of information.

HOW TO SUBSCRIBE TO THIS NEWSPAPER

Just write to us, and we'll add your name to the mailing list. There is no fixed subscription price—but that does not mean the paper is free. Printing alone for this issue will cost over \$6,000, and rising postage costs will come to about \$4,000. And there are other expenses—typesetting equipment, typewriters, ribbons, paper supplies, etc., and that doesn't include costs for bare subsistence for our full-time volunteer staff. We are not funded by universities, governments, or even advertising.

Our money comes from our readers, most of it in small donations such as \$1, \$5, \$10. Some people have lots of money, others have none—we ask people to do what they can. If you want the paper, we're glad to send it to you. If you want to help with the costs, we will appreciate that—your help will assist us in continuing our work.

Another issue will be ready for mailing as soon as funds for printing have accumulated.

THINKING ABOUT MOVING? JUST MOVED?

Let us know right away so we can change your address. If you are not at the address on our list, either the paper will be forwarded at a high cost to you, or it will be destroyed and NOTES will receive a notice for which we have to pay 25 cents. More than five percent of our readers move between issues, and it would mean more than \$700 cost to us, plus the loss of more than 3,000 newspapers. Please be sure to send in your old address or an old address label when you send us your new address. That way, you won't be sent two copies, and neither you nor us will need to pay any extra postage.

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KEEP US STRONG!

According to our own estimates, AKWESASNE NOTES is read with interest by over 100,000 readers each issue, and probably reaches conservatively three or four times that number. NOTES is the largest and fastest growing Native newspaper in North America, and we believe that it may be the largest authentic Native publication in the Western world. We are active, and we are growing, we think, because we are serving a unique purpose—to bring to our readers an understanding and a vision of the world which has been all but forgotten by Western Man, and thus inevitably ignored by other publications.

To that end, our writers explore many aspects of concern of our times, from issues usually associated with ecology, to issues dealing with political repression, movements, alternative technology, self-sufficiency, and social analysis. In addition to these objectives, NOTES is also one of the leaders in the publication of Native poetry and is one of the centers of Native art production and distribution. NOTES is more than a news magazine—it is an exploration of Twentieth Century society, a view of these difficult times.

People from all walks of life read and correspond with NOTES. The success of our effort depends on the responses of our readers. We constantly need news clippings of events in Indian country and around the world—the kind of news people should know about. And, of course, we always have a use for photographs, recordings of taped interviews or speeches, and articles which people feel may be of interest to an international audience. Helping NOTES to grow is a way of helping many people gain in consciousness, and reading NOTES is a way of supporting your own personal growth.

We would like to have many more readers of NOTES. You can help this paper grow by encouraging your friends and acquaintances to read some of the articles you think may interest them. NOTES is not simply a Native newspaper—it is a newspaper which has a message for all peoples who are striving in some ways for a better future.

Ours is a most difficult task, for we are trying to help people who have some kind of interest and concern for their people to understand and to unite with other peoples who have what appear on the surface to be separate and different concerns. We believe that the concerned people can come to one mind about their concerns, and we would like to be a part of the process which may help this to happen. But we are, after all, only a newspaper, a reflection—you, the reader, are a participant in the processes which make the kind of life we and our children will lead in this world. We offer our work as a tool in your work—help us grow so that NOTES will be a stronger tool. Promote NOTES—tell people about it, generate interest in the issues we cover. In that way, we will all grow stronger.



MICROFILM

AKWESASNE NOTES is available on microfilm and microfiche from a number of sources:

University Microfilms (\$4.60 and \$6/year)
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48105

Microfilm Corporation of America
21 Harristown Road
Glen Rock, New Jersey 07452

Wholesale

AKWESASNE NOTES is proud to offer what is probably the finest line of authentic Native crafts available anywhere in North America. Of special interest is the line of hand crafted baskets made of black ash splints and sweet grass. Mohawk basket makers are world famous for their excellent craftsmanship and produce baskets of a quality unsurpassed at any price. These baskets are authentic products made for practical use and the pack baskets, especially, are light-weight, sturdy, and in every way superior to any of the back-pack apparatus made of canvas or aluminum. Other baskets which are available include corn washing baskets, storage baskets, and fancy ewing baskets. There are also kettle baskets, pin cushions, and strawberry baskets.

In addition to baskets, we carry a fine line of beaded moccasins, earrings, necklaces, hair ties, chokers, and other products. Most of these products are one-of-a-kind items. A typical wholesale order would have a retail value of \$133. Your price would be \$100 plus a few dollars shipping. Order from:

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"No more are we going to stand around ... This is not the end of The Longest Walk!"

Phillip Deere

We are part of nature. Our pipes are red. Our faces, many times, we paint red. But we represent the Creation. We hear about Red Power. There are many definitions to Red Power.

Sometimes we refer to Red as the blood. But all colors of Man have the same color of blood. The fish life, they have blood also. The animals, too, have red blood. Everyone has red blood. But everyone was not made out of the red clay of America.

Only the Indian people are the original people of America. Our roots are buried deep in the soils of America. We are the only people who have continued with the oldest religion in this country. We are the people who still yet speak the languages given to us by the Creator. Our religion has survived, our languages have survived.

Long before this building (the Capital) was built, my ancestors talked the language that I talk today. And I hope to see my Indian people continue to live long after this building crumbles! (applause.)

I see, in the future, perhaps this civilization is coming near to the end. For that reason, we have continued with the instructions of our ancestors. We are the only people who know how to survive in this country. We have existed here for thousands and thousands of years. The smartest man in America does not know and cannot date the time that we originated.

This is our homeland. We came from no other country. Regardless of how many millions and millions of dollars are spent on an Indian, to make him someone else, all these millions have failed to make a White Man out of the Indian. We are the evidence of the Western Hemisphere!

We still yet walk across the entire United States to come here to present to you the problems that we have. Even though we see many sympathizers, non-Indians, who share with us and who have feelings for us, and perhaps even feel sorry for us, but as an Indian, I feel sorry for the non-Indian. I can see the confusion among them. This society is confused. I can see that as a bystander.

If I were with the society, I too would be confused. In the beginning of time, when everything was created, our ancestors also came about in this part of the world. There is no Indian here, on these grounds, that will say that we came across the Bering Straits. There is no Indian standing among us who will say that we descended from apes and monkeys.

We have always looked at ourselves as human beings. In some institutions we are told that man descended from apes and monkeys. I sometimes believe that there ARE some people that descended from apes and monkeys! That's why in the past two hundred years, there are some people who do not understand what an Indian is. That's how come they don't understand what

these eleven bills are all about.

These bills affect human beings. We are the original people here. No one can tell us how to live here! No one is able to direct our lives! We have forgotten in a short time that when the first people landed on our shores, they could not survive. Even the pilgrims could not survive. The Indians showed them the way of survival. We taught them how to live.

We taught them how to plant corn. That corn was a Tree of Life for us. We showed them that this is life here in America. And they survived.

Not too many years afterwards, foreign agents came to our house and tried to tell us how to farm. Not too many years afterwards, they began to tell us how to live. They began to tell us that our religion was wrong, our way of life was no good. This is not the agreement that we made. This is not the treaty that we made with the U.S. government, or any other country.

We agreed that we would remain as independent nations, that we would be sovereign people. It was understood that these people who were seeking freedom could have their freedom and have the same soil to share here, with us. We had enough room for these people because we lived by an understood law. A law that we had for thousands of years.

We had an unchanging government. The law of love, peace, and respect, no man-made laws will ever take the place of it! And this is the law that we have always lived by.

Because we understood this law, every Indian door was open. Through these doors walked Christopher Columbus. Through these doors walked the Pilgrims, because of that law of love and respect that we had for all human beings.

But time changed. After entering our door, they took advantage of the Native people here. Their greed — we have seen it. Many of our people have died. Many of our people were massacred because they wanted more land. We gave them land through treaties. We gave and we gave, and we have no more to give today!

Not only land was taken. Even the culture, even the religion, under man-made laws, were taken away from the Native people. But we managed to survive. We continued with our way of life.

The jailhouses, the prisons in this country, are no more than four hundred years old. Prior to the coming of Columbus, more than four hundred tribes, speaking different languages, having different ways, having different religions, lived here. None of these tribes had jailhouses. They had no prison walls. They had no insane asylums. No country today can exist without them!

Why did we not have any prisons? Why did we not have jailhouses or insane asylums? Because we lived by an understood law.



We understood what life is all about. To this day, we are not confused. My elders, spiritual leaders, medicine men, clan mothers, have no disagreements. We are not that confused. We come to you with one mind. We do not disagree on our religion. I have never tried to convert the Lakota people into Muskogee ways.

On every corner here is a church, each of them trying to convert the other one. We did not come here with that kind of confusion. We respect one another's religion. We respect one another's visions. That is our only way of existing in this country here — that is our survival. This is our strength. Even though we are greatly outnumbered, our ideas will overcome those numbers!

A confused society cannot exist forever. The first people who came here were lost. They are still yet lost! They have been confused so much, we have to go on the green light and stop on the red one. We have been separated from the natural way of life so far that the government doesn't understand the Indian language.

People in this society have been driven away, and have been taken away so far from reality that they will not sit down under a tree and talk to us. They won't even sit down in their office to listen to the Indian. We have experienced this all this time, even in the local offices at home. Those who are holding positions through the government refuse to listen to the grassroots Indians because they have been so far away from that natural way of thinking. They have to look at a piece of paper and get directions from the higher-ups. Even their minds are controlled. They can't make decisions for themselves.

Now we understand that the bills that affect us, affect the grassroots people. Not the ones that are trying to be an Indian in Hollywood, but the Indian at home on reservations. These bills are affecting them.



This is not the first time that the Indian people have walked so many miles. I am, as I said, from the Muskogee tribe, known also as the Creek tribe. If you study your history, my ancestral homelands were in Georgia, and it so happens that the President is from there. He knows why I am here! (applause.)

The Long Walk began in Georgia and Alabama and Florida. We thought it ended in Oklahoma, but it did not end there. So I have taken part in the Long Walk again. Every tribe has a trail of tears. We wonder when it is going to end. I would like to see the time come when we can act like human beings and be able to sit around and iron our problems out.

We never say anything about the Geneva Conference here in the United States. The press did not bring this out. Why? Documents were presented there that were so damaging! It was a disgrace to this country! Why does the Native of America have to go to another country to seek human rights?

Today, we too are interested in human rights, as well as those people in Berlin. How much rights does the Indian have? If there is anyone here who is a non-Indian, do not look at me as the most discriminated against. Look at yourself. My people have never discriminated against me. But I think the White Man is most discriminated against because he is discriminated against by his own kind. I learned this through Watergate!

The truth! We are the believers in the truth, and not in facts as this society follows. We believe in the truth. Many times you may want to know how many people I represent. I represent the truth. And I represent the future generations of my people.

It makes me wonder. If the Indian can be slapped around and shoved around all these years, who is going to be the next Indian? A few years ago, Black people fought for what they wanted. They could see the signs in many states. On the doors was written, "No Coloreds Allowed." We don't see that any more. But they had to fight for it.

Today we see another sign on there that doesn't have anything to do with your color. We've seen it over and over. I am using it as an example — I'm not saying whether it is good or bad. But on that door that no colored sign is not there, but there is a sign that says, "No Shirt, No Shoes, No Service." (laughter)

It doesn't say anything about your color any more. But in the future, you will probably be the next Indian. If you are not careful, you are going to be the next Indian. After a while, we are going to walk up to that door and we are going to read a sign that says, "All the People with Moustaches, Stay Out!"

In the future, there is going to be somebody else suffering. He too will wake up one day and find out that he has no rights. He too will find out that he is not a free person either. We can see that, very much like the shadow of the clouds that come over us. We can see that as a shadow today. And I am sure that my children will live long enough to see that all the freedom will be taken

from all human beings. Already this is going on.

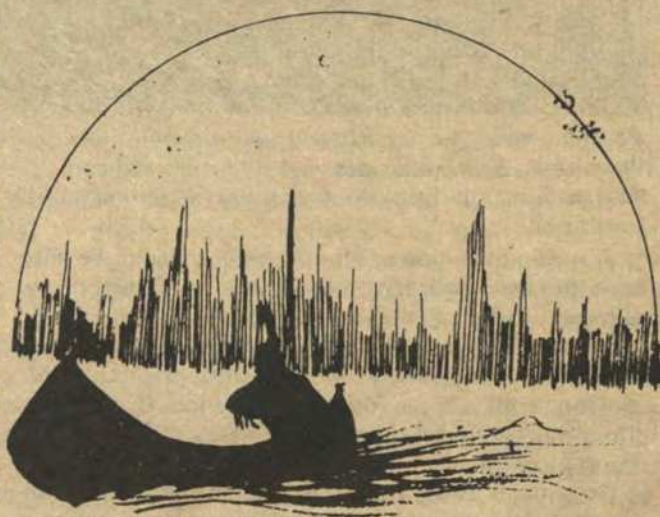
You talk about discriminating against the Indians. Don't think that that is an Indian problem. You had better wake up. You had better find out where you stand as a free person!

Again we come here to educate the American people about what is going on in this country. The present-day problems of the Indian people have not been looked into yet. It is time that American people be educated in a proper way.

The Native people you will see today. No matter how many of my brothers are jailed, no matter how many of them will go down into graves. You may silence me by a bullet some day. You may put me behind the bars some day. But that will not kill, and that will not jail the religion of my ancestors!

The movement of the Indian people will continue to go on. We have been made indestructible! Today the younger generation of my people stands up in pride of the Indian people. No more are we going to stand around and watch these bills go by. We're not going to have this any more. We are going to continue to march! This is not the end of The Longest Walk!

We are going to continue to walk, and walk, and walk until we find freedom for all the Native people! And I will remind you, you may not be an Indian, but you better join us. Your life is at stake. Your survival depends on this. At one time the churches told us that there is only one way. But now I am looking at their church membership. They are declining. How come their children don't want to go to church any more? How come that businessman's son doesn't want to go to church any more? He prefers to be out on the road hitchhiking. He prefers to be running around with his shirt off! So, what does that mean? It means that the only freedom that our young people have is to walk around here barefooted, because it means comfort. And nothing will take the place of being comfortable and satisfied in life! And that's what we are here for! Ho!



OREN LYONS

Brothers and Sisters:

As the landlords who are here, we would like to request the attendance of the chief tenant, Mr. Carter. Where is Mr. Carter?

We walk for the Spiritual Life. We walk for the future of this land and its people. This Walk has brought the people together from around the world. This walk is for the survival of nations, for the survival of the Natural World, for all of our brothers with wings and four feet; for all the colors of Mankind, the Walk has come here. I say welcome, welcome and a heartfelt gratitude to you people who have the courage and the stamina and the character inherent to the people of the Red Nation, to come across this land.

We look out, to our brothers who surround us, and we ask that they join hands with us in this effort for the survival of Mankind. We feel that the spiritual necessity for existence in this land lies within the Red Nations. And we are here to offer our hands to take care of the serious considerations for the future generations of this world.

We must take care that they have a place to survive — that they too can look upon the green grass and the trees and have clean water and fresh air. This spiritual gathering is a gathering of hearts. The only thing that the Red Nation is here to take over is the hearts of our neighbors. We are here to now begin the work to see that all of our children survive. We have with us spiritual leaders recognized in their communities. They are the ones the people depend upon in times of stress and sickness and need.

We have with us chiefs from many nations. Men who still hold the vision of our grandfathers. With us we have people from the Northwest who are embroiled in the rights to fish and the survival of salmon. From the North Country, which some people call Canada, we have representation of our brothers who do not recognize the dividing line between Canada and the United States. We



are one people, we are inherent, we are indigenous to these lands. And boundaries, and state lines and county lines and nation lines do not apply to our nations. (applause.)

This afternoon, you will hear issues relating to the bills that are now currently being viewed in Congress, or abrogate some of the original treaties of this land. Treaties made with George Washington himself, the father of your country. Treaties which reside in the archives with all the other international documents. These treaties today face eradication in the House and the Senate.

Or is it the House and the Senate? We are here to ask questions and we are here to make statements. And one

of the questions is, Who are the people who are advocating for the abrogation of the human rights of the indigenous people of this land? Will they step forward, and will they defend themselves?

I'm going to turn the microphone over to one of the allies through a recent treaty of four years ago between the Haudenosaunee and the Lakota nations. That treaty came about during the activities at Pine Ridge four years ago. We also want to hear from the people from the Northwest, where gunfire is on the water at night as they raise their nets to their boats. And people from the Southwest, where the Earth is being dug and turned out, and the coal is being taken, and the water is being taken with no regard to the future generations.

THE LONGEST WALK

They formed an impressive line. There were twenty-four people in all, young men and women, and older people. They were dressed in their traditional dress. It had been explained to us that some of the older people did not speak English. The occasion was historic — for the first time, a group of Navajo people had come to Onondaga to a Six Nations Council.

An older woman spoke and introduced herself. She spoke through an interpreter, a younger woman who spoke flawless English. She said that she was very happy to have been able to visit our country. Then she said that where she came from they were told that there were no Indians to the east of the Mississippi.

"I didn't even know there were any Indians at all here," she said. "But now I know." People laughed. The atmosphere was relaxed and friendly.

"We came here from The Longest Walk," one of the younger women said. "Our elders have come with us. My grandmother here," she said, pointing out one of the older women, "when she first joined the walk she saw that the people were running. So she ran too! In fact, we couldn't even catch up with her. She ran a couple of miles!" Everyone laughed. The older woman laughed, too.

A young, powerful looking man in a huge cowboy hat stepped forward to speak. "We are called Navajo by the non-Indians," he said. "But we do not call ourselves Navajo. That name was given to us by the Spanish. We call ourselves Dine, which means 'the people.' That is who we are." The people gathered in the Longhouse nodded.

We were camped in a park in Maryland. The place of the camp was a large field, and around the edges of the field were pitched tents and teepees, and a few army tents. The Maryland national guard was there, admin-

istering field kitchens. The water supply was in military water tanks which were mounted on small trailers. The national guard people ran the camp stoves and pretty much maintained a low profile.

It was one of those hot, sunny days, and the people were gathered in a great circle to discuss their problems. Vernon Bellecourt had called the assembly. "We want the people to gather around here," he said, "so that we can discuss our problems. We want the people to speak out, to tell us what is happening. That's what we are here for."

Various people were introduced, a pipe was passed among the people who had led and participated in much of the Walk. A few speeches were made. The people sat on the ground patiently, listening, watching.

Late in the afternoon, one of the Dine came forward to speak. "My grandmother has a few words she would like to say," he said. Then an older woman came forward. She was dressed, as they all dressed, in the colorful clothing of her culture. She wore a great squash blossom necklace.

"Where we live," she said, "the United States government is interfering in our affairs. They say that there is an argument between the Hopi people and the Dine people, but there is no argument among us. The argument has begun because of the interference of outsiders, of non-Indians."

"Now they are coming and telling me that I have too many sheep, and that I must get rid of some of my sheep. And they are saying that we must sell or move away from our homes. Without my sheep and without my home, where will I go? What will I do? What will become of me?" There was silence after she spoke.

That night, we went to the Dine camp. They had a fire and had cooked mutton stew, good mutton stew, and fried bread. Roberta Black Goat stood alone at the edge of the light. She is an older, very soft-spoken woman. She speaks English.

"Some of the white people came to my house and

they asked me how I felt about selling out and moving away," she said. "I told them I was against it. They said I was the first one they had talked to who said that they didn't want to sell."

She folded her arms in front of her.

"I told them I wasn't interested in selling. I told them that it is the same with us as it is when you have an old tree, and it is in your way. If there is a beautiful old tree, and you dig it up and move it, do you think it will continue to live? Even if you do everything you can to prepare new ground for it, do you think that old tree will live? No, it won't live. And it is the same way with us. When they move us away, we will die."

"I won't take even one dime for my house. That house is not simply a house. That house was made with our prayers. When we built that house, we prayed every step of the way. It is more than a house. It holds our ways. I won't take any money for my house because it doesn't belong to me. It belongs to the spirits. That house doesn't really belong to me. There are many prayers and songs in that house — it means more than money."

"When I talked to those people, what I said got back to the newspaper and my family came out from the city and they said, 'Boy, Grandma sounds really mad this time.' So I told them that I wasn't going to sell because of them, that someday they will realize that they need that land and I don't want them to say that they have no place to go because their grandmother sold it."

We were gathered on a Friday night just outside of Washington, D.C., in Greenbelt Park. We were over near the Lakota camp. It was a hot night, and it was very late. Russell Means was speaking.

"We have talked to the people at the White House," he said, "and they tell us that President Carter is in Europe this week and that he won't get back until Wednesday or so. When he does get back, he'll have a lot of work to

LARRY RED SHIRT

I am a Red Man first, and I am a member of the Lakota Nation. I want to say a few things to address the non-Indian people who are here. There are hundreds of Indian nations represented here in Washington today. Each of us has a specific message and issue that we would like to raise while we are here. We know that all of us are facing the same problems. We face the same enemy — the same people that are responsible for the strip-mining, the fishing rights violations, and all of the other rights that continue to be violated.

We have come here to Washington time and time again. We have seen our elders in delegations come to Washington talking about treaty rights, talking about sovereignty, talking about freedom for our people, and then we watched them go to their graves. We have watched our fathers also do the same, and now it is our turn.

In this century alone, I don't know how many times we have been here. Again we say that this is the last time. As Indian people and as Indian nations, we have every right to be recognized as such. As nations of people, we have our own languages, our own governments, our culture, our land, our religion, our history. We have all the things that constitute a nation, all the things that people have for recognition in the United Nations. We have all of these things.

The United States government recognized these rights through treaties. We have seen these treaties violated. We have seen millions of our people go before us. I think in this country alone, there are estimates that up to 14 million people have been killed in the last five hundred years.

We never hear about this. We hear about the six million Jews that were killed by Nazi Germany, but what about the fourteen million, or more, Indian people that were killed in this country in five hundred years? This country has a policy that we all know is a policy of genocide. It is an all-out effort to replace our religion,

our culture, our language — to control our lands, our resources. This is what is known as genocide.

Genocide is the most serious crime in international law. In Geneva last year, we charged the United States with committing genocide, and with continuing its genocidal policy. Through these eleven or more bills that are designed to abrogate the treaties, and to change our culture and our religion, and to effect our education — all of these things are forms of genocide. Sterilization is a form of genocide. The intent is there.

This is what we told the United Nations. That the United States is responsible, and is committing genocide.

I am from Pine Ridge. Within the last four years, we have lost almost four hundred of our people through violent deaths. The FBI is responsible for many — this could be proven. The federal marshalls, the police, the Bureau of Indian Affairs — the United States forces are responsible for the killings of four hundred people at Pine Ridge within four years. On every Indian reservation across the country, people are being killed.

The Lakota Nation is one of the few nations which went to war with the United States government, and we won. We defeated the United States government, and the proof is found in the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty. That treaty guarantees our land, our sovereignty, our people to remain as nations.

We have seen it over the media — the FBI with their M-16s invade our homes and force our women and children up against the wall, and then tear through our houses. At that time, we sent our leaders up here to try to bring these things to the attention of the President and the congress. The President would not meet with our chiefs to talk about the killing of Indian people. Instead, he would go to benefit dinners for his campaign.

I believe that it is the same thing that we are up against here. We have travelled thousands of miles only to learn that the President is in Germany, talking about human rights. This shows that he doesn't care. And the reason for this is because the people in this country don't care. During the Vietnam War we saw tens of

thousands of people in this very spot. They were protesting the killing of people in Vietnam.

Where are they when we talk about the killing of people in this country? (Applause.)

The issues that we bring are not just issues relating to the Indian people. Our treaties are guaranteed by constitutional law, but the United States does not go by its constitution. We can prove this, and we have proven this.

When President Carter, by manipulating the media, can turn public opinion against coal miners in West Virginia, that is a very serious violation of your rights. It is something that goes on all the time.

We come here talking about backlash. But this backlash is not only directed against Indian people. It is against all people in this country. Even the congressional Black Caucus representing Black interests are being threatened by multinational corporations. They have raised some questions about the activities of multinationals in the world.

We have seen farmers also, standing up, and coal miners, and women. The issues that we raise concern all people. We know that the average American citizen in this country is dissatisfied with his government, and what it does. (Applause.)

Clyde Bellecourt

We want you to know that we are attempting to call attention to and to gain your support in turning back the anti-Indian attitude, the anti-Indian legislation, and the John Wayne mentality that exists among the media today. We are asking you to help us to stop these genocidal practices that are taking place against my people.

We'll stop nuclear power! We'll stop nuclear warfare around this world! We have the capability and the spiritual power. It is here, with us today! (Applause.)

We want you who have gathered here today to hear our story to know that it hasn't been easy. I joined this

spirituality, sovereignty, land,

catch up on, and they tell us that he won't be able to see us."

A man standing nearby said, "When he gets to Germany, some people will demonstrate there. While he talks about human rights in the Soviet Union, they will tell him to go home and talk to the Longest Walk."

"Carter won't see us," Means continued, "but Mondale is going to meet with us after he's been briefed on Wednesday."

"Carter doesn't want to talk to us," someone else said. "He doesn't know anything about Indians anyway."

"I know it's against our usual ways," Russell said, "but they want a list of the names of the people who will be meeting with Mondale. They need that list fairly soon."

One of the Dine people stepped forward. "My grandmother wants to speak. I will translate."

An older woman stood. She said that she and her people have walked for months and that they came here for a meeting with Carter. She said she was in no hurry, and that she and her group would be willing to wait. She felt that the Indian delegations should meet with both Mondale and Carter at the same time, and suggested that they could stay there at the park until they were granted a meeting.

Quite a few people agreed, but it was clear that Means didn't expect to see Carter.

It was nearly 2:30 a.m., and there would be prayers at dawn.

The final leg of the Longest Walk came on a Saturday. We were a little late getting started. Someone ran through the camps announcing that there was to be a bus ride first, then a twelve mile walk into Washington. The buses were about a mile from the furthest camp area.

As we walked toward the buses it became obvious that the trees hid from view a much larger camp than was generally visible. Down the long paths they came, people from the Northern Great Plains, the Pacific Northwest, the deserts, and the woodlands of the East. As we walked toward the park entrance, the trickle of people became a steady stream, then a river. It was obvious that there were a lot of people. We walked quietly. There were white people, and Black people. And Indians. All kinds of Indians.

A woman ahead asked, "What are we supposed to do

this morning? What's first on the agenda?" A man walking with her looked up at the cloudless sky overhead. "The first thing," he said, "is that we take part in the Hottest Walk into the city. Then we're supposed to go to a park in the middle of town where there is a rally."

"And what about after the walk?" she asked. "What do you think will come of it? Even after we go there and we tell them about what we want, that we want our rights? What do you think will happen then?"

"The Longest Wait," he said.





Sacred Walk, this spiritual march, in ceremonies that were taking place in Topeka, Kansas. We were aware at that time that the FBI, in collusion with the Community Relations Service of the United States Justice Department, had been in front of us and in back of us, flashing phony mug shots of supposed fugitives, criminals, people who escaped from jails. They were telling our support groups in front of us and in back of us that these were the type of people that were on the Walk.

The FBI has worked in every way possible. It parallels their efforts to destroy Martin Luther King, to destroy Malcolm X, to destroy the Black Panther Party, and to destroy the Black Civil Rights Movement in this country. But we have been able to overcome that through these sacred pipes, the sacred drum, and the ceremonies.

This is all we have left here. Our way of life. And it was told to us that if our drum was ever stilled, we would be through as a nation. And if the drum was ever stilled, you too would be through as a nation.

In the Mormon religion that we have come in contact with throughout this march, they say among one part of that church that it is the Native people that will stand up. It is Native people that will offer survival to the rest of the world. It is Native people that will inherit this part of the world, this island. And these Mormon people that I talked to said that they too, in their scripture and their philosophy and their prophecies, knew that a great march was coming from the West, travelling East. No different from the prophecies of our great medicine men, our great spiritual leaders and holy men, that have passed on before us. They too talked about this generation.

They even identified the young people who came down from the North—from the East and the South and the West—that they would run 10, 15, 20 miles, long distances, each day to carry these sacred pipes. It was said that from among this generation, these young people you see gathered here today would spring our leadership. The fifth generation is here among us. This is where our power is, and our strength. We are many great chiefs and great leaders, clan mothers, warriors, that have developed out of this spiritual walk and other occupations that have taken place for many, many years.

I would like to thank our younger brothers and sisters who have joined in to support our leadership. They support our chiefs that you see here among us. They support our women and they support our brothers and sisters who are in prisons and jails across this country.

In the State of Minnesota, we make up less than one

half of one percent of the population, but 10% of the inmate population is Indian and we do 20% of the time. We walk for our brothers and sisters and pray for our brothers and sisters who cannot be here with us today.

We walk also for our brother Buddy Lamont, a Vietnam veteran who came home one of the most decorated warriors on the Pine Ridge Reservation. He came home and found the same armed forces that he fought with, surrounding his mother, his family, and his relatives on that reservation. We walk for this young warrior who came there and gave his life that we might live and that we might walk together again.

We walk for Pedro Bissonette, and Raymond Yellow Thunder, and the millions of Indian people who gave their lives that we might be given the opportunity to gather here to create, to build, to bring back the Old Ways, the ways of survival.

One of the greatest things I have seen coming out of this march is that I have had whole families come up to me from the ghettos that they have pushed us into through these relocation programs. They told me that they could not go back home after being on this walk, holding these sacred pipes. There is a deurbanization coming along. It will be for the survival of our youth and the survival of our unborn generations.

We ask each and every one of you to pray with us for the next four days. We want to meet your community, we want to talk to your people, and we want to change the image that has been portrayed by John Wayne, the media, and the history books. We want to portray the truth. We the Indian people, the Red Man of the Western Hemisphere, are the truth of the Western Hemisphere!

MARLON BRANDO

As I was standing back there, I was wondering what I was going to say — what I could possibly add for the people who have suffered and have told of their suffering. These people have long been articulate and forceful in trying to inform people. I found myself faced

freedom, justice, survival, the

We kept walking. The buses came into view, and a large crowd of people. There was a row of buses to the right. We went that way. They were all filled. We came back. More buses came. They were parked at a roadway entrance, and they stretched out as far as you could see in either direction. We walked to the back of the row of buses. They were mostly filled.

The buses stopped somewhere outside of Washington and people lined up along the side of the road. There was an organizing period while some instructions were passed, and finally, after maybe twenty minutes, people began lining up behind the banners that had been brought for the purpose. The final part of the journey was under way. There were quite a few banners — survival schools, nations, regions. Security tried to keep the people four abreast.

A group of Buddhists brought up the rear. They were from Japan. Their heads were shaved. Someone said that they marched in support of peace. They had walked from California. They were dressed in orange robes and they were highly disciplined. As the day's walk began, their drums set the cadence.

As we started over that first mile or two, I could see the banner which led the march. It was perhaps a hundred yards in front of us, the Buddhists maybe eighty or so yards behind us.

From the beginning, as we walked, people came out of their homes or stood along the sidewalk to watch. Soon the streets were lined with onlookers. It was hot. The people at the front of the procession carried pipes, the people at the rear carried drums. It was, if nothing else, one very colorful procession.

People lined the sidewalks, The hot Washington sun turned the street into a frying pan, and the humidity was oppressive to people from different parts of the continent. Some people were carrying babies.

As we neared the city limits, the crowds thickened. People seemed to stop work to come to the street to

watch. By that time, the front banner was more than two hundred yards ahead. The crowd was swelling. Bit by bit, Indian people joined in from the sidelines. People with cameras, and news crews with video tape equipment, walked alongside the crowds. Security tried to keep the marchers in line.

As we entered Washington, we heard a man singing alongside the road. It was Grandfather David from the Hopi nation. He was singing his song, and he danced, and he couldn't go on. He stopped and he cried. He couldn't go on.

The streets were emptied of traffic as we entered what was clearly a Black section of the city. The previous night someone had mentioned that today we would be walking through their country. This area of Washington, we were told, is more than 90% Black. We had received nothing but hospitality from the Black organizations. In 1972, when the BIA occupation took place, the only accommodations offered to Indian people came from a Black church in one of the poorest parts of the city.

The Black community stretched for miles. Longest Walk posters were in many shop windows and on some of the masonry walls. People came outside to watch. We walked.

The Indian Movement and the Black Movement have not communicated well over the years. Black people who are conscious of their own oppression are sympathetic, but whenever the question of cooperation is raised, someone is always able to bring up a long list of differences between our peoples. Every atrocity committed in history was committed against both of our peoples, and those atrocities continue today. Black people have been the other major target of the sterilization programs of the United States institutions. It could be that we have more in common than we generally acknowledge. And today, Native people are headed for Malcolm X Park.

As we walked down Sixteenth Street, more people

joined the march. There was a standing crowd on both sides of the street now, and an increasing police visibility. People rushed ahead with jugs in their hands and full water jugs passed through the crowd. Others came with bags of ice. Soon we were passing what were clearly office buildings and the institutes.

We turned down one of the large streets heading toward Malcolm X Park. By that time, the banner in front was close to three hundred yards ahead. We walked slowly.

Somewhere in front, a drum started. It was the American Indian Movement anthem. Overhead came the sound of a helicopter which passed back and forth over the tops of the trees. In the rear, one could hear the sound of the chanting monks and their drums — ONE TWO THREE FOUR, one two. It was an incredible mixture of sounds. A woman next to me said something, but I couldn't hear her over the din.

I looked to the rear, but at that time, the end of the line, which now stretched behind the Buddhists, was not in sight. We saw the front of the line disappear around a corner, and many more people joined in the walk. We came down through the center of the city, an increasingly curious mixture of people, a spectacle never before seen even in this, the most jaded city in the world. We didn't see the front of the line again until we reached the park.

There was something about that walk that people who were there will never forget. The sound of the drum and the song of the Northern Plains, a rallying song now for all of the Indian peoples of North America, mixed with the chants and the drums of a Buddhist people most of us had never seen before. And overhead the helicopter.

People came out to the street, non-Indians, and applauded. Many stood alongside with their fists raised at first, but the line was so long that they couldn't hold the pose long enough for even a fraction of the people to return the salute.

with the impossibility of trying to convey to all the people in this country what it is that the Indian people have suffered since the coming of the white man.

I feel that in this moment, it wouldn't be appropriate for me to try to say that. I do feel that, as someone in the film industry, that it is an obligation to try to convey that through films. And we are, at the present, through Black Elk productions, creating a series of films that will be made with Indians and for Indians and by Indians, to tell, not only the people of the United States, but all the people of the world what happened in this country.

This morning, on the cover of the newspaper, was a picture of the Secretary of State of the United States commiserating with a lady who had had her civil rights breached. I was astounded that the Secretary of State could go around the world — that the Vice President of the United States and the President of the United States — would have the nerve to talk about human rights when we are the last country in the world, the very last country in the world, to give up our colonial control over people that we have conquered by force.

It is just simply not known to the world that this country was taken by force, through manipulation, through swindle — and those are hard words to use, but they are true words. The people of this country were swindled, were murdered, were treated like animals. There was a holy man that I met many years ago from the Hopi tribe and he was on the Steve Allen show. He didn't speak English, and through an interpreter, Thomas Banyacya, he told me things about his early life. They were things I found very difficult to conceive of.

He told me of a time when the then controllers of the reservation felt that the Indians needed to be cleansed. So they took them, the entire tribe, and they ran them through an ordinary sheep dip, naked. And they pushed them under with poles so that they would be completely immersed in this liquid.

I found it hard to believe that this is the country that I was brought up in. I was brought up to believe some

things that are completely different from what I have found out that this country is about. I think it is beholden to me that all the people in the media, all the editors of newspapers, all the editors of television news divisions, ask me the responsibility of finding out what happened. Because we cannot simply continue in this world, with the French having fought, dragged kicking and screaming down the halls of history, before they would relinquish their hold on the people they had conquered in Indo-China, in Africa.

The same holds for the English, the Germans, for all colonial powers. Why is it that we cannot even extend to the people of America, the first Americans, the same rights that people have even in South Africa, where they have set up legitimate governments?

The only thing I can do is to go back to my community and try to persuade the people there of their obligation to make the true history of America known. That's what I hope to do.

D.C. City Councilman Moore

Thank you brothers and sisters. I'm very happy to greet you on behalf of the people of this city who, like you on the reservation, have no control of their lives. This city is a colony. We don't have one vote in the House. And yet the President of the United States, this day, has the audacity to be in Germany, of all places, talking about economic rights, when the greatest economic steal in the history of the world is being concocted in the Congress!

You all understand, and I saw your literature. AND Young did not lie! Andy Young in a blazing moment of truth told the truth about this land. There are political prisons in the United States! There are Indians in prison now for political acts! There are Black people in prison now for political acts! And there are Chicanos in prison now for political acts!

The President tells me he is a part of that so-called

spiritual renaissance called 'being born again.' I say he is nothing but a hypnotized hypocrite! You cannot be born again and leave Ben Chavis to rot in jail. You cannot be born again and leave others in jail in Minnesota, in California, who are Indian. You are a liar, and the truth is not in you! You can say, Amen.

You cannot kill Chicanos along the border and tell me you are born again. Andy Young is right! And when Andy Young comes back, we ought to give him the biggest reception he has ever had for telling the truth!

The same Court that took your rights away, a few days ago, said that we, the Black people, have no rights! And I thank God for the wisdom of your ancestors, and my ancestors, that you came at this time and place to come to us two weeks after the Baake decision. For what you have said, by coming to us, the Black, is that we are going to recreate that historic unity that kept us together, and we survived!

They made promise after promise after promise to you. And they broke promise after promise. And they made promises to us. They promised us that we would get forty acres and a mule. We never got it! And now we are seeing in this city that they are trying to push us off the land like they are trying to push you off the land! They have decided that Washington, D.C., is now the new glamour spot in the world.

Now houses are going up, taxes are going up, and that's the new way that the imperialists and the racists use to get rid of people. But I've got news for them. Here today, we, the Black and Red people, with those of good will who are White and Yellow people say, 'No More.' The strong do what they want, the weak can do what they must!

We are strong and we will win!



future generations, dignity,

Somehow the significance of it all began to take on a new perspective on that hot summer day in Washington. I remembered reading a journalist's report, filed more than five years ago, in reaction to a news story that Richard oakes had been shot to death in California by a YMCA camp employee. Richard was one of the people who had led the occupation of Alcatraz. The journalist wondered aloud where a movement like this one would go, and he came pretty close to announcing its death with the passing of one of the people who had started it all. There was a relative handful of people at Alcatraz — things have changed.

I looked behind me at the crowd. There was a line of people as far as one could see. If he had lived, Richard would have been elated.

People began pointing out a white-haired man who joined the procession. He was walking alongside Vernon Bellecourt. It was Marlon Brando.

Finally, the people crossed the street and turned into Malcolm X Park. We walked up the center of the grounds of the park. I looked at my watch. We were more than two hours late. The people who came had waited. It was a small park, but it was filled. As the marchers filed in and approached the speakers' platform

of the far end of the park, there was a great cheer, and then applause. There were a few moments while the sound equipment was made ready. We looked around the park. There were many supporters, and many of them were Black. We had walked for perhaps three hours. Our destination was to be the Washington Monument.

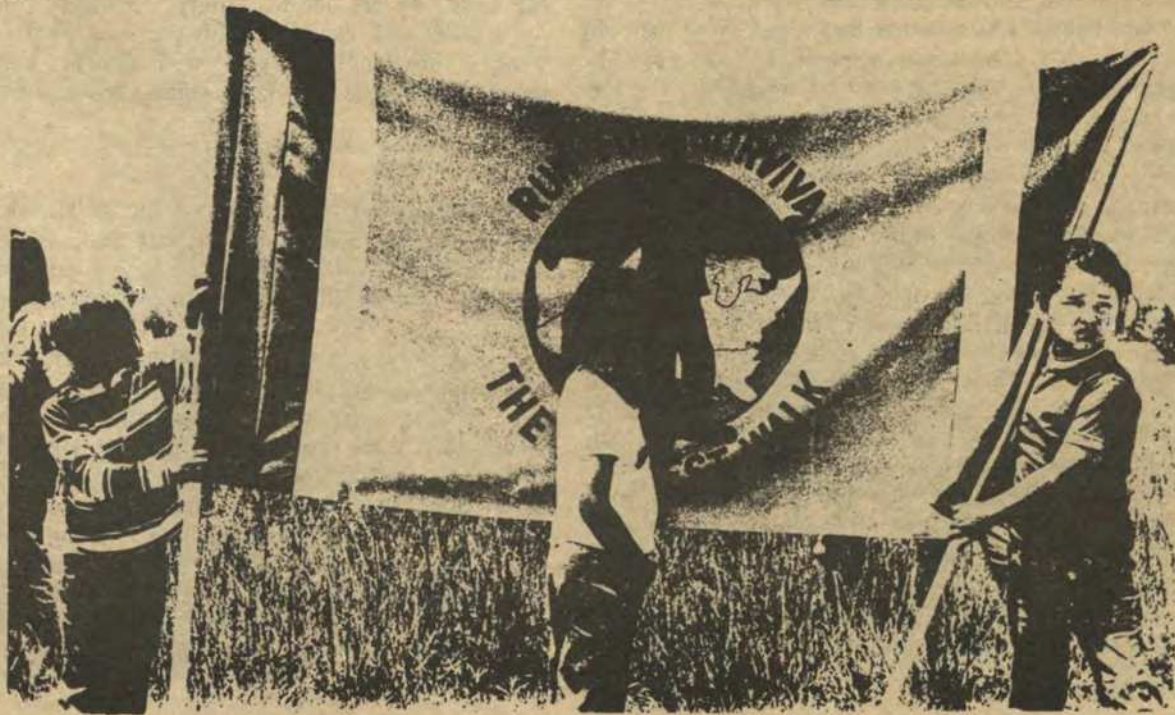
"Only about two more miles to go," a man nearby said.

"We have a lot further than that to go," another man replied.

Then the speeches began.

As we pulled out of the park, the line grew enormous. We walked into the heart of Washington, D.C., past some of the most impressive-appearing real estate in the world. The words, the purpose, the ultimate reason behind this gathering of people was growing. We marched into the center of one of the United States' most impressive displays of wealth — a march which included what are undisputedly among the poorest and most powerless people on the continent. Police were everywhere now, photographing the marchers, sitting on their motorcycles. We passed the Organization of American States building, and the White House. If the crowd was large when we entered Malcolm X Park, it was much larger when we came into the center of the city. People came out of their offices to watch. Some stood silently, almost disbelievingly, while others applauded. But everywhere the people came to watch, along the sidewalks, or from the windows of offices along the route.

Estimates of the size of the march ranged from a low of a few hundred to a high of nearly thirty thousand. I don't know how large the crowd was. I only know that from the middle, it was not possible to see either the beginning or the end of the line, and that as we entered



Dick GREGORY

First, let me set the record straight and say to our Indian brothers and sisters that you really helped us today in a way that we didn't realize. The march was supposed to start at 8:30 and the rally was supposed to start here at 11:00. Up until today most folks thought that only Black folk could be late. One big difference between Indians and Black folks being late is that we worry about it! You all was three hours late leavin' and you act like you left, not only on time, but four days early! (laughter.) So that really made me feel good, because I learned a lot by that.

You Indians that have been on reservations and that have never been around Black folks before will be hearin' a lot of lies about us. One thing they'll tell you is that "Niggers" can't get out of bed and can't get to work... and they right! Now I'm explaining the reasons so when you go back on the reservations you'll know. You see, Black folks have not been honest enough to admit that the same alarm clock that wakes up white folks cannot wake up Black folks. Those of you that have been here in the city for a while, you hear white folks got an alarm clock that goes 'BLEEP.' Black folks go to bed with too much pressure on their heads for a little 'BLEEP' to wake them up. The reason I've always had a job is because I had a friend of mine make me an alarm clock that sounds like the Massah's voice: "Get up 'Nigger' and get out in that field!" Works every time! (laughter.)

This is a very unusual week for me and those of you Indians who are seeing me for the first time see me different since the Supreme Court has ruled on the Bakke Case. You see, for 46 years I had been led to believe that I was the 'Nigger' and that I was being discriminated against. But the Supreme Court said a couple of weeks ago that I was the white boy and white folks was the Nigger and their being discriminated

against! (laughter.) I've really learned a lot lately.

I really thought I could recognize Indians. Probably the biggest surprise is that I can't. I thought I was talkin' to some white folks the other day and I was talkin' to Indians. As a matter of fact, it was an Indian that looked white that asked me would I participate or not and I told him that he wasn't an Indian. He said he was. You see, I'm confused because I came from an area where a lot of Black folks pretended to be Indians cause we didn't know you all was sufferin' so bad! (laughter.)

Let me just say to the Indian brothers and sisters that I thank you for doin' what you're doin'. You walked from California all the way to Washington, D.C., and it was more than a walk, it was a spiritual prayer. I have never ever in all my lifetime been aware of a group of people with so much love for nature and humanity that you would walk from one end of the country to the other to say a prayer that this whole thing would change. Never before has this nation ever had a group of people that were so concerned about 'em that they would march 3300 miles in a prayer to save them!



A few years ago I ran from Los Angeles to New York City. I didn't feel safe to walk! (laughter.) I tried to pray for hungry folks until my knees got to hurtin' and for the rest of the run the prayer was about my knee! But I know what it's like to go across those cold deserts at night, and those hot spots in the daytime, and to be rained on, and to see all of the things that go down, and at the end of the day someone tells you you didn't get no press. You Indian brothers and sisters that worried about where the press was — it was bigger than that. The moon and the sun never worries about the press because they're real and real power like you possess don't have to worry about it. Not at all.

And I thought you Indians was smart. You all must be kinda dumb or somethin', because if you wanted press, all you had to do was get some of the President's Brother's Beer and run across the country drinkin' that beer singin' "God Bless America," and they would have told us where you were every day, when it becomes fun and games and a party! (laughter) But when it gets down to the serious basic salvation of this nation, it's a different ballgame then. That's what America is all about, and the walk you made was to change a system that is so vicious and so degenerate that it can manipulate a press the way they can.

It was a wonderful walk, it was a great walk, and it meant a whole lot to whole lots of people and it's one of the most decent things that has ever happened in the history of this country. And I'll tell you, the U.S. might have the greatest nuclear might and the President might lead it, but I'll betcha with all that armament and all that might, the President of the U.S. wouldn't dare walk from the West Coast to the East Coast in the country that he's the head of, without 14,000 tanks, 20,000 planes, and a two billion dollar budget just to guarantee his safety because even he is scared of America. Because he knows what America is all about! So I say to my Indian brothers and sisters, don't let nobody trick you

self-sufficiency, rebirth, all of

the Washington Monument grounds, the line was probably five deep and could have stretched out for two miles or more. I had seen more people on demonstrations during the anti-war movement days, and even a week earlier, a hundred thousand people had demonstrated in support of the ERA.

But for the American people to put the same percentage of people in the streets, they would need a demonstration with about six million people. And I knew, from looking around for those I would have expected to see, that there were many, many who had not come, even among the leadership. It wasn't out of apathy, or lack of brotherhood, but many had not come because there is important work to be done at home.

We stopped in the shade of some trees to one side of the Washington Monument. People were tired. Some had dropped off along the way. Generally there was a good mood, a feeling of accomplishment. We had hoped there would be support among the Indian people. There was. The event belongs on a calendar somewhere: July 15, 1978 — date of the strongest demonstration of Indian unity this century. So far.

All day long at camp, people had been meeting in their various areas. Some of the camp areas didn't wait to follow the schedule which had been posted, and a number of people expressed a sentiment which indicated the futility of going into Washington to talk to the people representing the United States government. Some of the daytime meetings were excellent — the people were talking. There was a growing sense of participation. Things had the appearance of change. It was good.

It was night-time on Sunday and we were sitting at one of the small camps, around an open fire, talking. The group was young and they had met each other,

really, perhaps for the first time this week. But they knew each other. They had all come in by caravan from the same reservation.

"I think I know how to explain it," a young woman, perhaps twenty, was saying. "The thing is, it was among the traditional people that I first learned how to pray. I mean really pray. Oh yeah, I knew how to do that 'Now I lay me down to sleep...' thing." The group laughed.

"But what I mean is, well, this year I really learned how to pray — where it meant something. I went out west, where they have sweat lodges every few days. And when you're in a sweat lodge, when you are in there suffering and you have come in there to suffer, to share something with the other people, to touch them, that's when you first come in touch with yourself."

"And I think I know what they mean about the right way now, too. I have seen some of the right way. The right way to pray, so that it means something. The way to be among your friends, so that they mean something to you. That's what I've been learning."

A young man carried her thoughts. "The right way means to live the way our ancestors lived. That was the right way. A pure way of life. One mind with the Spirit. I learned too, how to pray, how to be. Now I only have to find a way to live the right way."

"But our people don't want to live that way, at least most of them don't," another young man said. "Most of our people have never prayed, really prayed, in their whole lives. And they don't care that much about anything, or anyone. Just so long as they have a little money and they don't have to work too hard."

"Yes," said another, "but don't forget. They can't help it. They were sold a 'bill of goods' just like we were. They were taught that they were following right way, when in fact what they were given was just the opposite from a spiritual way. I can see that now. But they can't see it. Not yet. But now that we know, what can we do

about it?"

There was a silence.

My mind wandered to a meeting we had had this Spring in Louisville, Kentucky while on a Voices From the Earth trip. We had been invited to a dinner with a group of people who lived in a community house in the city. They called their organization Ananda Marga, and they were a spiritual people who found their teacher in a man and a movement which has its roots in India. They practiced a strict personal discipline, and their philosophy was based, as is our own, on principles of charity.

Before we ate, a young woman took a guitar and she led a song, a beautifully done song: "We are one with the Spirit, We are one in a unity," it began. "We will show them with our love, With our love, That God is living in this land!" They know, I thought. And now these young people, they are beginning to know too.

It was late and we had invited the people who had walked the entire distance into our camp to share a meal. Afterwards, one of the men took a guitar and he sat down near the fire. "I want to sing you a song," he said.

He played his guitar, and he talked and sang. He said, "We came through the mountains in the wintertime, and it was cold up there. Fifteen below, maybe colder. And some nights there was no place to sleep, except in the snow. And one night, one of our men, he stayed all night in his truck, way up on the mountain, because he was carrying the Pipe. He wasn't going to bring that Pipe down into that town, because he knew the Pipe was sacred, and he didn't want to bring a sacred thing into that town. He could have come down and slept where it was warm, but he didn't. He didn't. So I want to sing

and tell you that we don't know what we doin' in America. We know what we doin' in America. That's why high government officials have to have bodyguards, have to be careful where they walk and careful where they go and careful when they move.

That's why this meeting got to be infiltrated by the federal police because they got to be concerned about what you do here. But I don't have to infiltrate the FBI or the CIA. I don't have to understand what pimps' and degenerates' mentality is all about. I don't have to spy on wrong, but wrong had better spy on right!

Don't let anybody tell you the Walk wasn't a success. I would say to those of you who walked across the country — it worked! Every Indian in this country, and on this planet understands a little bit more about what the cause is. You made the Longest Walk for all of us.

I just hate to live in a country where the President of the U.S. is complainin' about things that are happenin' in other countries, and I don't think he's wrong for complainin', but right here in America... 'Cause if a bunch of Russians had walked 3,000 miles across Russia, the President would have met them. And I'm just sick and tired of government that can relate with problems a long ways away but cannot relate with problems not only here, but with problems that have been caused by this government! I know when they was splittin' up the land they never realized they was givin' you 60 to 80% of all the minerals. Kinda makes you wonder who the real 'Niggers' are, doesn't it?

I don't mind the President not showin' up. I don't know if you all wanna go to the White House with the image the White House got the last couple of days with all the drugs...(laughter.) I just thought (Carter) was a slicker politician than that, because, my God, there's no greater picture that could have gone around the world after he been over there humbuggin' with them Russians about human rights, than to have all the Indians come to the White House for dinner. I thought he was a better



politician than that!

Now I thank my brother Ralph Abernathy that talked about a coalition between Black folks and Indians. For a long time I've known of all the problems and sufferings Black folks have done in this country. We at this point is not basically fightin' for our survival, but the Indians are. Somehow I hope that this can turn it around. And when you leave here, and when you go back to your homes and towns and villages, think about what Abernathy said, about that coalition, about merging and coming together to change this thing.

You are the original landlords, and one day when you kick white folks out, you might have to seriously consider sendin' Niggers back where we came from too, 'cause most Niggers think like white folk. You see, a white racist system and a white racist people are two different things. White racist people don't bother me. A white racist system done run me crazy! Everything white

folks like, Niggers like. Everything white folks hate, Niggers hate. That's why 98% of all Black folks that got killed in America last year was killed by Black folks, because we hate the same thing a white racist system hates... Niggers! That's why whole lots of Black men will ball up their fists and punch that Black sister out, but think twice before they roll their eyes funny at a hillbilly white woman who just called them a Nigger!

I leave you saying — understand your power. And understand that if this nation really knew what you were about, they would be on their knees now, beggin' you not to leave us but to help us turn this around. I felt kinda sad when I realized how many of you had walked here with your babies, but you had somewhere to go. And if this thing don't turn around soon, a lot of us livin' in these buildings are gonna be fleeing with our babies, but we won't have nowhere to go.

Some of us know that this is more than just the Longest Walk. Some of those among you know what this Walk is really about. Some of us is hip enough and serious enough to know that it might be the last walk for America if this nation doesn't get hip, doesn't wake up to what's goin' down. So I thank you, my friends, for my wife and my family, and for my ten Black children because of what you do here. Regardless of which way these insane beasts will take this nation — this nation is more spiritual now because of what you've done, and lots of people will be saved because you got here and you dared pray for us all. I say thanks to all those Indian brothers and sisters that was not able to make it here physically, that have been wiped out, that have died.

They have died more viciously than Indians used to die because they're so slick now that they make you think you died from natural causes... but it's the same folks, and the same conditions that's murdering you. And I say to you before I leave, thanks for lettin' me come to address the real landlords, and thank you for doin' what you're doin'!

our relatives, walk in harmony

this song for my brother, because he stayed strong."

"Walk on, long walkers, we got many miles to walk on!"

"Walk on, long walkers, we got many miles to walk on!"

He sang for nearly an hour, and we heard that he didn't sing all of the song. The Longest Walk, which is the name of the song, is also the longest song.

"I learned the right way on this Walk. At least the right way for me. I fell in love while I was on this walk. I fell in love with my Mother Earth. And I'll never forget it. I have tried many things — booze, marijuana, heroin, religion — you name it, I've tried it. But I have never known anything like Mother Earth."

"And I know now that the Pipe is sacred. I know what that means. My brothers taught me about that on this Walk. That Pipe is powerful. It is so powerful, because we are powerful."

"You know, I believe the Spirit was with us on this walk. And we saw, we saw. The Spirit, he doesn't care for money. A lot of people came on this walk with money, and while we walked, they rode. But you know what? None of them made it, because money is not what the Spirit is all about. I saw that. The Spirit doesn't care for money. What he cares about is what you are made of."

He spoke articulately and with feeling. "You know, this walk has brought so much to me. Now I know what the Mother Earth means to me! And you know what? When my grandmother from the Dine in the Southwest says she needs my help, because the Man has come to rip off her land, you know what I'm going to do? I'm going to go down there and help her!"

"Now I'm going home, and I'm going to tell my brothers and sisters about the power of the Pipe. Everywhere I go, I'm going to tell about this thing. I have seen it, on this Walk," he said.

It was an extremely powerful speech. He is one of the Native people from south of the imaginary line, in the land known on the maps as Mexico.

We sat in the shade near one of the camp cooking areas, talking with one of the chiefs of the Six Nations delegations. "One of the younger men was telling," he said, "of some of the things that happened at the beginning of the trip, when they came through the mountains."

"I guess it was a miracle that they survived. He told that it was very cold, and he was carrying a pipe, and running down the mountain. He said that although it

was very cold, he had his shirt off and he was sweating. Later, when he stopped, he found that his hair was frozen."

"Anyways, as he was running, he said that one of those mountain goats came down off the mountain and ran alongside him, but it stayed off the road. Then an elk joined in, and a deer. Pretty soon, an eagle came down and flew above him."

Later, a group of people was riding in one of the vans, talking about the events of the trip. "Did you see the animals as we walked into town?" a young woman asked. "All the way, the horses and even a bull ran up to the fence, and then walked along the fence with the walkers. All the animals were acting funny. Did you see?" The others nodded. They had seen.





NA MU MYO HO REN GE KYO, NA MU MYO HO REN GO KYO, NA MU MYO HO REN GE KYO

MOST VENERABLE ◆ ◆ NICHIDATSU FUJII

(Most Venerable Nichidatsu Fujii is the leader of a Buddhist order in Japan. These people also marched across America, and demonstrated a profound solidarity with the Native people of this hemisphere. The Japanese words above are a prayer for peace on earth. The following is the Venerable Fujii's statement to the Longest Walk, and to the American people:)

Here at Washington, D.C., in North America, the great gathering of The Longest Walk is taking place today.

This walk began on February 11th this year from a small island in the San Francisco Bay. There were times the walkers slept in homeless deserts, a time they stayed on a 12,000 foot mountain covered with snow, times they walked through the wind and times they were wet by the rain. In the face of every hardship the walkers stepped forward the distances of 30 kilometers, 50 kilometers, and at times 80 kilometers a day, arriving in Washington D.C. without a single straggler.

The ancestors of the Indian people were repeatedly forced to walk to the west by the violence of the European refugees who landed on the east coast. Every single walk was a trail of tears and a trail of blood. Women and children were slaughtered by these walks, people were frozen to death and starved to death. A great number of ancestors, approximately twenty million, were sacrificed. Furthermore, the United States of America has lately started to introduce a number of evil laws to abuse the state power and to annihilate the surviving Indian population. In order to protect their right to survive, the Indian people in a genuine spiritual way widely cried out the justice of their selves to the world community. The Longest Walk was organized in a desire to non-violently eliminate the violence of the United States government.

Historically, a superstition, with the so-called "sovereign power of the state" lies in the basis of a modern state. It is said that the supreme principles of action of a nation for its existence are need and convenience. If this is so, in order for a state to achieve its objectives of existence and consolidation, it can even ignore various laws, regulations, morals, and religions. This means that the various laws, regulations, and morals of a human society and religion have a value only when they are regarded as useful to the existence and consolidation of the state. The sovereign power of the state is affirmed as sacred. In Machiavellianism, which is said to be the realism of politics, laws and regulations can be ignored or deliberately misinterpreted.

It is also characteristic of the modern state to repeatedly use Christian missionaries, who should advocate peace, to ignite wars and tailor them into agents of the state power. Fundamentally, it is the theory of sovereign power of the state that is supporting the Christian missionaries and is to be blamed for their unfavorable reputation. Under the superstition of the theory of the sacred power of the state, the use of

nuclear weapons can also be permitted. For this reason the United States has already used nuclear weapons in Asia and from then on it has not hesitated to frequently threaten humanity publicly with the use of nuclear weapons.

If there is a land requisite to the white race of the United States, everyone who originally lived on that land must evacuate. Just as rabbits and snakes which originally lived there must move out, human beings must also evacuate. This way of thinking is the so-called "frontier spirit" of the United States. This becomes an act of violence originating from the superstition of the theory of sovereign power of the state.

By the violence of the sovereign power of the state, the dignity and independence of a race can be denied. This is especially true in the case of the Indian race, who are on the brink of extermination. It is only natural that this state is looked upon as a sworn enemy of the race.

On November 24, 1961, the United Nations General Assembly presented "The Declaration On Banning Use of Nuclear Weapons." It says; "Believing that the use of weapons of mass destruction, such as nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons, is a direct negation of the high ideals and objective which the United Nations has been established to achieve through the protection of succeeding generations from the scourge of war and through the preservation and promotion of their cultures, declares that the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons would exceed even the scope of war and cause indiscriminate suffering and destruction to mankind and civilization and, as such, is contrary to the rules of international law and to the laws of humanity; the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons is a war directed not against an enemy or enemies alone but also against mankind in general, since the peoples of the world not involved in such a war will be subjected to all the evils generated by the use of such weapons; Any state using nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons is considered as violating the Charter of the United Nations, as acting contrary to the laws of humanity and as committing a crime against mankind and civilization."

In Japan on August 6, 1945 at Hiroshima, and on August 9 at Nagasaki, the sacrifice of the A-bombing occurred for the first time in human history. It was no one but the United States of America who dropped the atomic bombs.

The then-commander in chief, MacArthur, rather praised the achievements of the A-bombing, saying that it had quickened the conclusion of the war. Later he further explained that the A-bombing was to protect the lives of the many young American soldiers.

Not only that, but there was no one in the United States who would admit the criminality of the A-bombing. Intoxicated with the ecstasy of victory and worshipping the atomic bomb as a guardian of peace, they devoted themselves to the development, production and stockpiling of atomic and hydrogen bombs, even after the war.

Since the A-bombing, the use of nuclear weapons has been supported by a sense of righteousness and rationale such as "for national security" and "for the benefit of

the people." No matter how great the disaster could be to humankind, it was considered rather sacred. Finally at the 32nd General Assembly of the United Nations, which was held last year, Dr. Waldheim, Secretary General of the United Nations, called for the opening of the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament, saying that the threat of self-destruction by nuclear war is the greatest danger confronting the world. The basis, stockpiling and accuracy of nuclear weapons are further enhancing the danger of final annihilation of mankind. It has become evident that effective security cannot be obtained by the expansion of arms. The very basis which can eliminate the cause of tension and conflicts, and establish reciprocal international cooperation can be found in disarmament. Thus, for approximately one month, starting from May 23 to June 18 of this year, the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament was held.

The United States has already used nuclear weapons. Not a single human soul will praise the United States' victory. Hereafter history shall eternally accuse the criminality of the A-bombing by the United States.

The United States of America is firstly a violator of the United Nations Charter, secondly a violator of humanity, thirdly an enemy of humankind who brings calamity to the whole of humanity, and fourthly a criminal which destroys civilization.

An international issue should not adhere closely to the present pessimistic situation. A world situation is never a fixed matter, but can always be changed.

Today when nuclear weaponry shows extreme development, and when humankind has already obtained the knowledge of nuclear weapons, the only path left to save humanity from catastrophe is to eliminate war itself. We must work with all our might for complete disarmament.

General and complete disarmament is no longer a game of the mind but the most realistic solution.

An era of wars, an era of violence, an era of murder and destruction is now about to be buried in oblivion.

All measures adopted in anticipation of possible future conflicts and wars cannot establish genuine peace. The question of eliminating the fear and distrust among confronting modern states must be solved first. To eliminate the fear and distrust is an absolute spiritual issue which religion has repeatedly taught from ancient times. The fear shall disappear when you believe in the Almighty God. To eliminate fear we believe in the Almighty God. You fear others because you suspect them to be wicked. When you believe others to be good, you will not fear them. You do not believe in God, because you cannot see His omnipotence. It is through an attempt to see the omnipotence of God that one believes in God. You do not believe that people are good because you see that they are good, but by believing that people are good you eliminate your own fear and thus you can intimately associate with them. To believe the omnipotence of God which you cannot actually see is a discipline in order to believe the invisible good in others.

After breaking faith with the absolute sovereign power of the state and completely abolishing all wars and armaments starting with nuclear weapons, a new civilization of humankind, an eternally peaceful era will be created. However, people of this new age will still be the same people who have been fully dependent on self-defense through arms. The most important thing required for these people is a spiritual basis for disarmament, namely and activity of conscience as humankind.

The development of science has been useful to constitute the materialistic civilization. However, it has finally incurred the crisis of human annihilation. The view of absolute sovereign power is also a result of a spiritual disease, the growth of arrogance and greed.

However the systems may be changed or the wisdom of men combined unless the door to the spiritual revolution for today's individual self is opened, there will be no prospect of mutual fear and distrust will be eliminated. A spiritual change is nothing to be ashamed of. In Buddhism, it is taught that we be set free from delusions and become enlightened. The civilization of a new era, which is to construct a world of perpetual peace shall be an era of the spiritual civilization. The universal center of the spiritual civilization is a religious civilization. The Great Nichiren called this Rissho Ankoku (Establishing righteousness and Peace on earth.)

HUMAN RIGHTS FROM A NATIVE PERSPECTIVE

The following position paper was adopted by three traditional governments of North American Indians: the Dine (called by the Spanish "Navajo," the Lakota (known to the English-speaking people as Sioux,) and the Haudenosaunee (called by the French "Iroquois, and known to the U.S. as the Six Nations.) This is the first position paper ever to be presented in Washington by these three nations. The statement calls on President Carter to meet with the Traditional and Spiritual leaders of the Native people to begin serious negotiations on issues vital to the survival - physical and spiritual - of the Native peoples.

Grandfather, Great Spirit, you are the Ultimate Power which created the Universe and all life within. Grandfather, to many spirits you have given to life on this earth, and to each you instructed on how to live according to your ways.

As I come from the womb of my Mother, the Earth, you gave me life. You have given me the choice of two ways to life - the good way and the bad way, and you have given me a sacred pipe with which to learn from my relatives the wingeds, the two-leggeds, the four-leggeds, and those that live in the waters, to walk the good road, which is red.

Grandfather, as I stand before you today, forgive me if I am weak. Today we ask for your mercy.

Grandfather, you have created the Red Man, the Yellow Man, the Black Man, and the White Man. To each you have given a domain and a purpose. Today as the Red stand before the Yellow, the Black and the White, we pray that you may touch their hearts so that they may understand our purpose.

Grandfather, today we remember the countless members of our Red nation who have sacrificed their lives so that we, the coming generations may live to see this day.

Grandfather, today we remember the slaughtered millions of Buffalo, Elk, Deer, Eagle, and all the rest of natural life that you have created and have given purpose.

Grandfather, today we remember our Grandmother, the Earth, who gave us birth and who continues to nurture us, her children. Forgive us if we become weak to allow her exploitation and continued destruction.

Grandfather, today we pray for the coming generations.

Grandfather, today we pray for all the living.

Grandfather, as one Spirit, one Body, and one Voice, we send this prayer. Grandfather, hear us today for there may not be a tomorrow for us, the Red Man.

STATEMENT TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD - JULY 1978

For countless thousands of years our people have lived on this continent in peace and tranquility, coexisting with all Natural Life. In the beginning we were told that the human beings who walk upon the Earth have been provided with all the things necessary for life. We were instructed to carry a love for one another, and to show a great respect for all beings of this Earth. We were shown that our life exists with the tree life, that our well-being depends on the well-being of the vegetable life, that we are close relatives of the four-leggeds. In our way, Spiritual consciousness is the highest form of politics.

Our roots are deep in the lands where we live. We have a great love for our country, for our birthplace is here. The soil is rich from the bones of thousands of our generations. Each of us were created in these lands and it is our duty to take great care of them, because from these lands will spring the future generations of our peoples. We walk about with great respect, for the Earth is a very Sacred Place.

Our traditional governments are truly governments "of the people, by the people, and for the people." All power of authority at all levels comes from the people

and can be withdrawn at any time if the power is abused or responsibilities not met.

Our traditional governments cannot be adequately compared to the different forms of government that exist around us today. As with all aspects of Native life, our governments have their roots in the religious systems. Leaders are chosen for, among other things, the way they live their lives according to the four main virtues of bravery, fortitude, generosity, and wisdom. They are men who have proven themselves and show commitment to uphold and enforce the Spiritual and Natural Law, and also the laws of the people.

We are peoples who strongly believe in the cycles of the Universe. Everything is based on concepts of harmony and balance. With the coming of the peoples from the East, this hemisphere has experienced a 486-year conflict between Western Civilization and the Natural World Peoples.

The Western culture has been horribly exploitative and destructive of the Natural World. Over 140 species of birds and animals were utterly destroyed since the European arrival in the Americas, largely because they were unusable in the eyes of the invaders. The forests were levelled, the waters are polluted, our people subjected to genocide. The vast herds of herbivores are reduced to mere handfuls, the Buffalo nearly became extinct. Western technology and the people who employ it have been and continue to be the most amazingly destructive forces in all human history. No natural disaster has ever destroyed as much. Not even the Ice Ages counted as many victims.

Many would like to believe that all of these injustices have ended. This couldn't be further from the truth. Our Native nations entered into hundreds of treaties with the European colonists and the United States. These treaties recognized the sovereignty of our nations, and guaranteed the lands and resources which belong to our nations.

Our people are the most abused of all peoples in North America. The extreme wrongs which are committed against our people today affect our everyday lives. Under the laws and policies of the United States we do not possess recognition of even the most fundamental rights necessary to our survival. We have no real rights in our lands, no rights to determine our Way of Life, no rights to our economic development. We are not even allowed to protect our communities against unfair actions by any people who choose to invade our homelands. Our lands are leased "for us" by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Our governments are frequently controlled or hindered by the Interior Department. Our rights to exist as communities and nations are not protected, and are often denied by the courts. We are a horribly oppressed people in our own land. The most basic justice is denied to our peoples, and only to our peoples!

We are the only peoples in North America who own land and resources and who must worry that these things can be taken away from us. No one else who owns resources is subjected to an unrelenting fear that the United States government will take those things away. But the Native People must worry about these things.

We are the only people who have formal legal agreements with the United States government, which the United States freely violates without legal liability. It happens to no others. The Constitution of the United States does not allow this to happen to other peoples. Yet, the U.S. claims the legal right to violate and ignore legal treaties made with our nations. Only to our people does this happen.

Our people are often subjected to such extensive bureaucratic control and manipulation that the process amounts to the denial of even the slightest amount of real self-government. Although there are laws and policies that give the appearance of participation in the processes that affect our land and peoples, the reality is that we have no power over the bureaucracies or laws and policies which affect our lives. Indeed, the practices of the United States have the impact of foreign control over our affairs. The official U.S. position states that there exists on our lands a significant measure of

self-determination. This is an illusion created to confuse the people of the U.S. and the world. Our peoples possess the least self-determination of any communities in North America.

Only the Native People can be subjected to acts of theft and fraud with no possibility of justice under law. What other people are told that even if a fraudulent, or other illegal act can be proven beyond any doubt, that the courts have no power to correct the wrongs which are committed? Yet, that is the actual practice of the courts. The Political Question Doctrine applied by the courts prevents the courts from questioning fraudulent treaties, prevents the courts from correcting many treaty violations, and prevents the courts from questioning or correcting the abusive acts of government relating to our peoples.

What other communities have no right, under law, to pass ordinances to protect their members from the acts of violent and destructive outsiders? What other communities of people in the whole world are denied the right to control the acts of companies and individuals operating on their lands? Yet this is exactly the situation suffered by our peoples in the United States today, right now!



Only our peoples can be driven from their lands without due process of law. Under the U.S. Supreme Court decision in the case of the Tee-Hit-Ton Indians, the United States can, and does, take lands which have been forever the lands of our peoples. They not only take the land, but they assert the power to do so without any compensation, and without due process, and there is no law which protects our peoples from these obvious thefts.

The struggles of our peoples have brought our leaders before the Judicial, Legislative, and Executive branches of the United States government time after time in futile attempts to find Justice.

The real issues of Sovereignty and Treaty Rights have been consistently submerged to the processes of bureaucratic white-tape. Time after time we have been referred to the Interior Department which has neither the competency nor the power to effectively deal with these issues. We cannot allow these acts to continue if we are to survive as a People.

It seems the basic attitude of the American people and the government towards our peoples is yet one of extreme apathy.

Presently the Human Rights, Rights of Nationhood, Right of Self-Determination, and the basic right of existence of our peoples are being actively denied in the United States.

We challenge the President of the United States to take the first step in correcting these wrongs by meeting with the Traditional and Spiritual leaders of our peoples to begin serious negotiations.

The basic issue of Human Rights raised by the President of the United States is hypocrisy and an outrage when viewed in the context of the history and the present conditions of our peoples.

The definition of Genocide as stated in Article II of the International Convention on Genocide provides the basis of our peoples' charge of Genocide made at the United Nations in Geneva, Switzerland, in September, 1977.

Article II states: "In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group, such as:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members

AFFIRMATION OF SOVEREIGNTY OF THE

of the group;

(c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;

(d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group."

Many of our young people went across the seas and never returned. We were told that we went to war to fight for our country. Our war casualties under the U.S. flag are greater than any other sector of the North American population. Yet today, our country is threatened by the United States.

United States police and intelligence agencies have directed illegal military operations against our peoples, such as COINTELPRO. These actions have resulted in the violent deaths of a number of our leaders. The process has not stopped, and we have no protection against these actions. As a result of these actions there are in many United States prisons patriotic Native People who only advocate peace and freedom for their nations.

According to a GAO report issued last year, 24% of our women were forcibly or illegally sterilized during the period 1971 - 1975.

Nearly one out of three of our children are being placed in non-Indian foster homes daily by various county, state and federal agencies.

The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 continues to destroy the traditional governments of our people, causing widespread disruption of a tranquil Way of Life, and literally putting brother against brother.

The clearcut policy of genocide of the last century continues in more sophisticated forms in this century.

Our religions have been attacked, and degraded. Our children continue to be processed through various forms of Western educational programs. The Spiritual leaders of our nations are now being subjected to the destructive nature of government program moneys. Taxpayers' moneys are being used to regulate the practice of our natural religions. There are even efforts to certify our medicine peoples and to despiritualize the nature of our healing culture. That practice is a policy that is destroying our natural healing practices. It is a policy which is an outrageous attempt to interfere with, and ultimately destroy our natural religion.

Finally, the bills currently before Congress which call for the abrogation of Indian treaties, and termination of our lands, resources, and water, presents a clear signal that the threat of genocide to the existence of our peoples is alive and well. The fact that the present Congress of the United States, in the year 1978, can consider such legislation should alarm the people of the United States. When a government denies the human rights of one people, it is only a matter of time before those rights will be denied to all of its peoples.

We call upon the voting public of the United States to seriously consider and question the ethics and morality of their representative leadership in Congress who are responsible for the introduction of dangerous and racist legislation against our peoples.

We call upon the United States to acknowledge its responsibilities under international law to respect Indian treaties, to insure genuine self-determination for our nations, and to correct past wrongs in an honorable and equitable manner.

The traditional people recognize that the injustices perpetuated upon our people, and indeed upon many of the peoples of the world, are the major factors destroying the Spirituality of the Human Race. Peace and Unity are the foundations of the Spiritual Way of Life of our peoples. But Peace and Unity are not companions to injustice.

We call upon all the peoples of the world to join with us in seeking peace, and in seeking to insure survival and justice for all indigenous peoples, for all the Earth's creatures, and all nations of the Earth.

We will take whatever steps necessary in the protection of our Sacred Mother Earth, and the rights and well-being of our peoples.

We will continue our efforts before the World Community to regain our inherent Human and Sovereign Rights.

"Treat all men alike. Give them all the same law. Give them an equal chance to live and grow. All men were created by the same Great Spirit Chief, we are all brothers. We ask to be recognized as men, let me be a free man. Free to travel, free to stop, free to choose my own teachers, free to choose my own religion. Free to act, think and speak for myself, and I will obey every law or submit to the penalty."

Chief Joseph, Nez Perce

We gather together to give a greetings and thanksgiving to all the Creation for its help and support to us during The Longest Walk.

Let us turn our attention to the Sacred Pipe. It is the Pipe that has led us from the western edge of our Turtle Island to the eastern side. The Pipe is the symbol of all life. The bowl represents all Female Life, in that it comes from our sacred Mother Earth. The stem represents all Male Life, and the joining of the two represents the whole of the Universe and the laws of the Creation.

In the places where we live grows Tobacco, Corn, or other vegetation that has been given to us to act as a communication between the two-leggeds and the Great Mystery. At this time we give a greetings and thanksgiving to those beings who aid our communications with the Great Mystery.

Finally, we wish to give a greetings and thanksgiving to the Spirits of the People that have combined to carry forth the beliefs and protection of our People. We recognize that the Great Mystery has provided that Spirit, and that it is part of our instructions to combine our spirits for the good of all Life.

Now, as we stand on the Eastern Shores, we wish to address the People gathered around us.

We are the sovereign and free children of Mother Earth. Since before human memory, our people have lived on this land. For countless generations, we have lived in harmony with our relatives, the four-leggeds, the winged beings, the beings that swim, and the beings that crawl. For all time our home is from coast to coast; from pole to pole. We are the original people of this hemisphere. The remains of our ancestors and of our many relatives are a greater part of this land than any other's remains. The mountains and the trees are a part of us — we are flesh of their flesh. We are the Human Beings of many nations, and we still speak many tongues. We have come from the four directions of this Turtle Island. Our feet have traveled our Mother Earth over many thousands of miles. We are the evidence of the Western Hemisphere, the carriers of the original ways of this area of the world, and the protectors of all Life this Turtle Island.

Today we address you in the language of the oppressor, but the concepts predate the coming of the invaders. The injustice we speak of is centuries old, and has been spoken against in many tongues. We are still the original people of this land. We are the people of The Longest Walk.

For many generations we have been seeking justice and peace from the European refugees and their descendants who have settled on our sacred Turtle Island. It has been an incredibly long struggle. We have entered into many agreements for peace and friendship with the governments of these people, and yet we have received neither peace nor friendship. Most of our original homelands have been illegally taken from us. Our people have been, and continue to be, mercilessly hunted and slaughtered to serve the needs of corporations, governments, and their agents.

Today, the conditions in Central and South America are identical to the conditions in this country during the 19th Century. The process of annihilation and destruction are carried on with money, sophisticated weapons, missionaries, widespread sterilization, so-called develop-

mental programs, CIA and FBI organized training of terrorists and provocateurs that are sponsored and provided by the United States. We can find no other words for the description of these acts other than murder and terrorism. This process is hidden from the peoples of the world by a conscious suppression of information coming from the offending countries.

Our people are often forced to leave their beloved homelands and are sent to lands where they greatly suffer. Our grandfathers and grandmothers were forced to walk many times in front of the guns of the invaders. Today we have been forced to walk again, in front of guns and the threat of destruction that comes from words in legislation.

The guns of today are not held by the Seventh Cavalry but are in the hands of the FBI, the Federal Marshalls, and other persons who are supposedly upholding the laws of the United States. These guns and many other sophisticated weapons have been used to continue a campaign of legalized murder, terrorism, torture, mutilation, and oppression of our people. All of these weapons have been used in direct violation of international laws concerning the use of weapons against civilian populations.

Our Mother Earth feeds, clothes, and shelters us, as she does all life, but those who have embraced Western values do not realize the value of the Creation. They are exploiting our Mother Earth and all our relatives who walk and grow with us. This is not right.

For countless generations the cycles of life have been guarded and respected by our people. In the short span of five centuries, the people who invaded these lands have caused an unbelievably massive annihilation of all life forms of the Western Hemisphere. We indigenous people recognize and understand the Natural Balance of these life cycles and assert the right to live within this natural order.

Most of our original homelands have been taken from us. We have been allowed access to only a tiny fraction of the land which remains and it, too, is being destroyed against our will. Our lands hold natural resources which are coveted by huge transnational corporations. These organizations are very powerful. In many ways, the United States government has acted as a direct agent of these organizations.

We know that the present attacks on our lands and sovereignty will, unless halted, ultimately benefit the interest of corporations which seek coal, uranium, water and other parts of our Mother Earth. We understand that the attack on our existence originates with these interests. The land speculators of the last century have been replaced by the oil refineries and the ore processors of this century. The United States government failed to protect our interests against land speculators, who were far less powerful than the transnational corporations we face today. The present day racism against our people is fueled by these organizations, and the denial of our rights will open up our air, water and lands to a ruthless exploitation unparalleled in history. Uncontrolled Western development will destroy our ways of life, and will threaten all life on this Turtle Island.

The Creator gave to us our original instructions, telling us how to walk about on this Earth as protectors and relatives to all life. As long as the sun rises, the grasses grow, and the cycles continue, we are to carry on this duty. Around us live a people who act in a way that will bring about the total destruction of all life. The transnational corporations destroy life in the waters, air, and land. Huge trawlers attack our relatives in the sea, giant machineries strip our Mother Earth's skin bare, factories and vehicles fill the sky with tons of poison. The recent rush to use nuclear power poses the most potent threat to ending all life in one generation.

In order to further satisfy the greed of these corporations, members of our communities have been seduced to aid their processes. Our resistance to these processes is strongly oppressed by the United States government, agencies and corporations. Much to our dismay, we find this process being promoted and used against us by the corporations of newly liberated areas. We call for a stop to these practices, and we seek real assistance from liberated people.

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

Our people gathered together on the western coast of this Turtle Island and discussed actions that could be taken to stop these many threats to the dignity and permanence of Life. It was decided that we should join together and begin this walk across our beloved land, starting at Alcatraz, our symbol of our continuing resistance. It also serves as the symbol of our unity as the original people of this land, and starting from this symbol we decided to bring to the American people, and the people of the world, the message that we are still a People. We carried with us our babies on cradle boards, and the little ones who run about on the Earth. We came with our young men and women, and we came with our elders and wise people. We are carrying with us our spiritual ways, and we have planted our prayers and sacred things all along our journey. We have come to seek justice and to deliver a message to the leaders and the people of the United States and the world. Our journey has indeed been The Longest Walk.

Why are we the only people of this hemisphere whose land and resources can be stripped from us by governmental decree? Formal agreements between our sovereign and separate nations and the occupying governments always become nullified, abrogated or violated and we have no legal recourse or protection from these illegal actions. Only to the indigenous people of this hemisphere does this happen. The oppression of indigenous populations is an automatic characteristic of Western Civilization. The United States' Bureau of Indian Affairs is one prime example of how that oppression becomes an institution of these people.

How do we explain to the American people that we love our Mother Earth and ways of life? How can we state that we do not need the United States government to tell us how to be indigenous people? What will it take to convince the U.S. government to allow us to live in peace? How do we convince the U.S. government to simply leave us alone to live according to our ways of life?

The federal system has tried many programs for the so-called improvement of our lives. There have been an endless procession of such programs: the BIA, the Dawes Act, the 1924 Citizenship Act, the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act, the Indian Claims Commission, Termination, Relocation, Self-determination, Housing, and on and on. Our conditions have not improved.

There are those of our people who have been destroyed by words and promises of a better way of life through the American system. The American government chooses to see them as leaders of indigenous people. They form corporations and committees. But a corporation is not a nation!

On many of our territories, we are subjected to governments created under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, which fosters dissidents who are willing to sell out for an American sanctioned position. The Indian Reorganization Act was created as a part of a long range plan to terminate indigenous nations. The Indian Reorganization Act and other United States policies created governments which supposedly have the power to sell or lease away indigenous lands and resources, but the power is not recognized as a legitimate power by the majority of indigenous people. Those governments were created largely to implement United States policies that are contrary to the beliefs and laws of our people. They were given recognition by the United States government as having power to negotiate away our inherent rights. They were intended to give the appearance that those negotiations possess some legitimacy from the indigenous people.

From the beginning these puppet governments have brought the wishes of the federal government to the indigenous people. They have never been able to effectively bring the wishes of the indigenous people to Washington. These governments are the clearest manifestation of federal policy in the indigenous communities. They do not, and cannot, effectively represent the people. They represent a policy which, when advocated by indigenous individuals, presents what can best be described as a kind of self-destruction. The United States government has divided, subdivided and

allotted our land, and then directed the most desired parcels to those among us who shift alliances from traditional leaders to government agents. It has then termed much of the remainder of our sacred Mother Earth as excess, and purported to give it away to non-Indians.

In order for our people to be happy, healthy, and productive, we must have access to all of our relatives and the self-esteem, respect, affection, and a sense of belonging we receive from them. There are many policies and regulations that remove our many relatives from us. Our relatives in the waters are being removed by millions of sports fishermen and commercial fishing fleets. Our relatives, the four-legged creatures, are being hunted, trapped, slaughtered, driven away, and forced into extinction. Our relatives in the sky are faced with the same problems and have the same threats upon them. This indiscriminate barbarism is beyond the reason of our people. Our people only took the lives of those other beings when it was necessary for our survival and not the mere "sport" of it. Our Grandmother, the Moon, has been molested and a part of her being has been removed.

As we look about us we find it hard to believe that other two-leggeds can act in such a way. Zoos act as reservations for the other members of the Natural world. In every way the process of Western Civilization commits a genocide toward all living things. This disruption of the natural cycles cannot continue without serious consequences. As we seek to protect and continue the original instructions of our people, we must now take actions to protect and preserve all those that help to form all the cycles of the Natural World.

Among us we find many people, agencies, and institutions actively removing the young people who run about the Earth. Daily, hundreds of those who are our closest relatives are torn from their communities. The transfer of the children from one group to another is recognized, by international law, as an act of genocide. This mass removal is rationalized in the laws and values of Western civilization, and by not recognizing our traditional institutions and systems. Western Civilization can practice assimilation processes that have as their goals the disappearance of our people as a unique way of life. We are here to say that these practices are going to stop.

Our cultures are structured for Human Beings. They are based on principles of respect and responsibility for everyone and everything. The manner in which the people are to live is described to the people through our religious teachings. These religious teachings were given to the Creation by the Creator in order to insure our existence in this world. To remove our children from our communities, and to deny them access to these original instructions leads to the collapse of our families, societies, and nations. It is our commitment to reverse this process and rebuild our country.

We understand that self-esteem derives from the things that people do every day. Our elder people teach a respect for one another and the respect for all the things of this place, including Mother Earth, the Grasses, the Waters, and the many things which support our lives. We have a high regard for the affection of our people. In our ways, we are taught our relationship to the generations yet unborn, to those who have gone before us, and to our nations of people. We are deeply rooted in the land and our peoples' roots draw sustenance from our Mother Earth. We, the traditional people, are instructed in the old ways and every day we still live these instructions.

Every day we must struggle to protect our right to carry on our way of life. In every way we are met with an interference. Our healing cultures are ridiculed, and laws are passed to keep us in the American healing systems. Laws exist which forbid the practice of our healing cultures.

The occupiers' borders defining the settler regimes of Mexico, the United States, and Canada, divide our territories and peoples. Each of these regions seeks to impose fake identities of being Mexican, American, or Canadian. Border policies inhibit the free flow of the

members of our nations and break up the cultural continuity and integrity of our peoples. The national laws of these regimes function uniformly toward the destruction and exploitation of our peoples. Land laws in Mexico force our people from their lands, and force them northward to seek survival. The immigration laws of the United States deny entrance to the indigenous people coming from Mexico. Yet these same laws are distorted to allow for a legalized kidnapping of our children from the Canadian area. Throughout the hemisphere, immigration laws have historically been used to bring in large groups of immigrants to further the colonization and destruction of our Mother Earth and People, since those immigrants are coming to this hemisphere to occupy our lands, we are asserting our right to determine who enters our lands and we are asserting our right to deport those people who we determine to be illegal aliens.

In our own country the leadership of our people evolves from the natural cycles of the Creation. The quality of leadership is one that is in harmony with the Universe. It is a leadership that genuinely arises from the people, responds to the people, and does not seek to dominate either people or the Natural World. It is a leadership whose vision is constantly trained on the well-being and survival of present and future generations. These are the people who are of The Longest Walk.

It is the common knowledge of many people that the American theories of democracy were derived from indigenous people. Among our people were the inspirations for Franklin, Washington and Jefferson. Today, it is in our minds that the Western people have never escaped the need to have a single king-like figure to be their leader. Throughout the history of the United States, the Western people have always chosen leaders who successfully led the process of genocide against our people and other indigenous people throughout the world.

We have watched the process of American government, and we are shocked that American leaders have little or no accountability to their people. President Carter has come to office talking strong words about "Human Rights." To us, these words have a hollow ring when applied to our people. We call upon all people of the world to confront President Carter on the question of United States' honor of Human Rights for the indigenous people of this land.

One specific problem of Human Rights violations is the problem of political prisoners in America. Our children are political prisoners of American compulsory education laws. Our women are political prisoners through health practices that force sterilization upon them. Entire communities are political prisoners when our right to protect our communities from violent and destructive forces is ignored or denied.

There can be no amnesty for all the political prisoners of the United States and the Western Civilization, for all things — the air, the trees, the four-legged beings, the ones in the oceans, as well as the two-legged beings — are political prisoners. All types of life are prisoners of a political system which has no respect for human or natural rights — a system only interested in protecting corporate financial interests. And at what cost is this done? Survival??

Today, many brothers and sisters from sovereign indigenous nations are being held in prisons as prisoners of war because they dared to defend their rights given to them by the Creator and acknowledged by treaties made in good faith with the United States government.

We as sovereign indigenous people demand the release of our people from your inhumane jails and behavior modification units. We do not want a "pardon" or "amnesty" — only the complete and total release of our people, for we have committed no crimes. We have only acted in defense to protect the sacred gifts of this Creation and her children. We are under attack and forced into a state of war for our land and resources.

We never had jails. Our leaders had no need of weapons to protect them from their own people, because they truly are servants of the people. But today we see these problems placed upon us. We do not want

jails on our lands, nor do we want our people or ways imprisoned within them. No one was meant to live that way and no man has the right to make that decision.

We know and understand how our leaders and warriors have been locked away, as well as murdered to steal the land we live upon, to silence our voices and to destroy our survival. This has been so since your arrival. Your laws were made to protect not your people, but the greed of the wealthy. So there is no respect in your laws and no justice in your courts. We do not recognize your self-appointed control over our lives and freedom.

As a people we have the right to gather together to give a greeting and a thanksgiving to the Creation. We have the right to live in peace and tranquility. We have the right to the fruits of our own lands and to feed, shelter and clothe our people. We have a right to conceive and to give birth according to our natural ways. We have the right to educate our children to our ways of life. We have the right to protect ourselves and our lands against abuses and to settle disputes that arise within our own territories. We have the right to clean air, clean water, and the peaceful usage of our lands. We have the right to be a people. These are inherent rights. All people possess these rights under the laws of the Universe, as well as man-made laws. These are rights that cannot be given to or denied by one group of people over another. As the traditional people, we recognize and understand that these rights came from the Creator and not by actions of humans.

The United States has claimed to confer U.S. citizenship upon our people. Even that act has been used as a weapon against our people. It may be true that the United States has the power to confer citizenship upon whomever seeks it, but it has no right to deny our citizenship to our own nations. Today it comes to our ears that we are "privileged citizens" and that the treaties should be "abrogated" in order that we may be made equal to United States citizens.

We are not United States citizens. We have treaties with the United States, and the U.S. does not make treaties with its own citizens. We protested the 1924 Citizenship Act. We do not claim U.S. citizenship. Nothing the U.S. has done in its relations with us has moved us to want to change that position.

The indigenous people of the Western Hemisphere are the most oppressed of any people in these lands. Every facet of our lives is regulated and interfered with by the institutions of the people who invaded our territories. In every way, the lives of our people are disrupted. The hospitals sterilize our women, the bureaucracies aid in the theft of our lands, resources and waters. But the most outrageous aspect of this oppression is the Western peoples' fetish for disturbing our ancestors.

In the name of science and academics, the archeologists and other grave robbers roam the countryside eagerly seeking the remains of our people.

To our people, one's passing from this world to the next is as significant as birth. At the time our spirit starts its journey to the Creator's world, we have completed our cycle within the many cycles of the Universe. At that time we balance the many lives it has taken to provide for our continuance.

The passing into the next world and the process of burial are very dignified and sacred events in the lives of our people. But that dignity and sacredness are severely disrupted by the activities of the Western grave robbers among our people. We provide our relatives with the necessities of their journey and return our relatives to the bosom of our Mother Earth dressed in their finest clothes. We place their bodies throughout our lands, and they act as constant reminders of the cycles we live within.

Our ancestors' right to be at peace is not respected by the invaders. In many areas the grave robbers have a free hand to desecrate the resting places of our people. The objects we gave them for their journey, and their clothing, end up on display in sideshows and in museums. Further insult is added when such displays are rampant with misinformation about our people. The people of the United States are encouraged to support

these outrages through contributions and tax dollars. Daily, thousands of children are herded through these buildings and are taught to believe that these practices are normal and acceptable.

Many of our sacred burial sites have been desecrated by the construction of dams, housing tracts, industries and other land-destroying processes of the West. Laws have been passed, forcing our people to follow alien and contradictory burial rites.

All of these practices are genocidal in nature and are heaped upon our people, consequently promoting the destruction of the spiritual health of our people. The original intents are clear. They are part of the Western desire to practice forced assimilation. If this is denied by you, then prove it by taking action to end these practices.

We call upon all museums, collectors and other hobbyists for the return of our sacred items, the remains of our people, and items of our material heritage for proper reinterment. We call for the return of those items not taken from graves, but from our people, to be returned for their continued use in our ways of life.

We call for the restoration of all lands illegally removed from our protection. We call for the payment of war reparations due to us for the reconstruction of our nations.

We call for an end to the confusing situation regarding state and federal jurisdiction, and we direct America's attention to our treaties and agreements which define the relationship of our countries.

We call upon organized religion to become allies in the process of liberation, and to stop their competition for our "souls."

We are here to make it clear to the American government and the people of the world that there is only one definition of who we are as a people. That definition arises from our religions, governments, and the ways of life that we follow. No one else on the Mother Earth has the right to attempt to define us or our existence.

We feel these are simple things to carry out. If the processes that affect us today are allowed to continue, in thirty or fifty years our nations and communities will be as destroyed as the areas that America occupies. At this time in history, we, as the original people of this hemisphere, are the only ones living in this part of the world left with any direction on how to be a human being in harmony with the Universe. This is the greatest gift we could offer to all humanity.

In closing, the young people of the Longest Walk want our elders to know that we cannot thank you enough for carrying on the traditional ways. If it were not for our elders, we would not be speaking and thinking this way today. We, the young people, want our elders to know that as long as there is breath left in our bodies, that we commit ourselves to never allow your teachings to be forgotten. We commit ourselves to carrying on these peaceful traditional ways.

DECLARATION OF OF THE INDIGENOUS WESTERN HEMI-

PREAMBLE:

Having considered the problems relating to the activities of the United Nations for the promotion and encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Noting that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and related international covenants have the individuals as their primary concern, and

Recognizing that individuals are the foundation of cultures, societies, and nations, and

Whereas, it is a fundamental right of any individual to practice and perpetuate the cultures, societies and nations into which they are born, and

Recognizing that conditions are imposed upon peoples that suppress, deny or destroy the culture, societies or nations in which they believe or of which they are members,

Be it affirmed that,

1. RECOGNITION OF INDIGENOUS NATIONS

Indigenous peoples shall be accorded recognition as nations, and proper subjects of international law, provided the people concerned desire to be recognized as a nation and meet the fundamental requirements of nationhood, namely:

- a. Having a permanent population
- b. Having a defined territory
- c. Having a government
- d. Having the ability to enter into relations with other states

2. SUBJECTS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

Indigenous groups not meeting the requirements of nationhood are hereby declared to be subjects of international law and are entitled to the protection of this Declaration, provided they are identifiable groups having bonds of language, heritage, tradition, or other common identity.

3. GUARANTEE OF RIGHTS

No indigenous nation or group shall be deemed to have fewer rights, or lesser status for the sole reason that the nation or group has not entered into recorded treaties or agreements with any state.

4. ACCORDANCE OF INDEPENDENCE

Indigenous nations or groups shall be accorded such degree of independence as they may desire in accordance with international law.

5. TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS

Treaties and other agreements entered into by indigenous nations or groups with other states, whether denominated as treaties or otherwise, shall be recognized and applied in the same manner and according to the same international laws and principles as the treaties and agreements entered into by other states.

6. ABROGATION OF TREATIES AND OTHER RIGHTS

Treaties and agreements made with indigenous nations or groups shall not be subject to unilateral abrogation. In no event may the municipal laws of any state serve as a defense to the failure to adhere to and perform the terms of treaties and agreements made with indigenous nations or groups. Nor shall any state refuse to recognize and adhere to treaties or other agreements due to changed circumstances where the change in circumstances has been substantially caused by the state asserting that such change has occurred.

7. JURISDICTION

No state shall assert or claim to exercise any right of jurisdiction over any indigenous nation or group or the



PRINCIPLES FOR THE DEFENSE NATIONS AND PEOPLES OF THE SPHERE

territory of such indigenous nation or group unless pursuant to a valid treaty or other agreement freely made with the lawful representatives of the indigenous nation or group concerned. All actions on the part of any state which derogate from the indigenous nations' or groups' right to exercise self-determination shall be the proper concern of existing international bodies.

8. CLAIMS TO TERRITORY

No state shall claim or retain, by right of discovery or otherwise, the territories of any indigenous nation or group, except such lands as may have been lawfully acquired by valid treaty or other cessation freely made.

9. SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

All states in the Western Hemisphere shall establish through negotiations or other appropriate means a procedure for the binding settlement of disputes, claims, or other matters relating to indigenous nations or groups. Such procedures shall be mutually acceptable to the parties, fundamentally fair, and consistent with international law. All procedures presently in existence which do not have the endorsement of the indigenous nations or groups concerned, shall be ended, and new procedures shall be instituted consistent with this Declaration.

10. NATIONAL AND CULTURAL INTEGRITY

It shall be unlawful for any state to take or permit any action or course of conduct with respect to an indigenous nation or group which will directly or indirectly result in the destruction or disintegration of such indigenous nation or group or otherwise threaten the national or cultural integrity of such nation or group, including, but not limited to, the imposition and support of illegitimate governments and the introduction of non-indigenous religions to indigenous peoples by non-indigenous missionaries.

11. ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

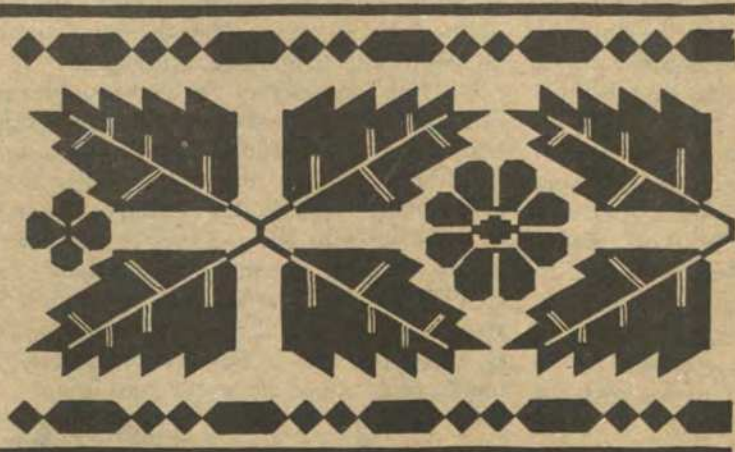
It shall be unlawful for any state to make or permit any action or course of conduct with respect to the territories of an indigenous nation or group which will directly or indirectly result in the destruction or deterioration of an indigenous nation or group through the effects of pollution of earth, air, water, or which in any way depletes, displaces or destroys any natural resource or other resources under the domination of, or vital to the livelihood of an indigenous nation or group.

12. INDIGENOUS MEMBERSHIP

No state, through legislation, regulation, or other means, shall take actions that interfere with the sovereign power of an indigenous nation or group to determine its own membership.

13. CONCLUSION

All of the rights and obligations declared herein shall be in addition to all rights and obligations existing under international law.

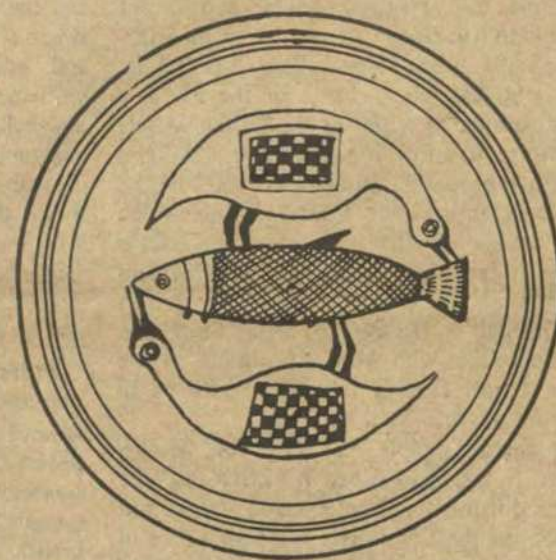


The Longest Walk will long be remembered by everyone who had anything to do with it. Like any significant happening in the history of the People, it will become an integral part of the recounting. Already, The Longest Walk has produced its own legends, and famous characters. As The People return to their homes they will have many things to speak, laugh, and think about.

A few years ago, only a handful of Native People made the cross-country journey to Washington, D.C.. There were a great many new faces this year — younger faces who had come to lend their support and commitment to the goals of The Longest Walk. One thing was very clear about the nature of this endeavor. That was that these many people had come together from all over our lands, and yet they walked on very common grounds. The ideology, the direction, the Spirit of the Native struggle has become clearer, more focused.

The young will have a great deal to carry home. Throughout The Longest Walk they were everywhere. As Pipecarriers, as Runners, as Speakers, working on the position papers, they were everywhere and involved in everything. One could look about at these young people and feel very proud and confident in the future. They have spent many years in the American schools being taught to be Americans, but one can be sure that it hasn't rubbed off. Especially with the young of the Longest Walk, it hasn't.

The Longest Walk and the papers that issued forth are an amalgamation of the long-held beliefs and understandings of the older peoples, and the newer analysis and reflection of the young. Combined, these elements produce a tough position of The People. The People as they see themselves in a global context, as A People emerging into the consciousness of the world's Peoples.



The Longest Walk must be seen as a part of the continuing struggle of Native Peoples. In 1923, one man, Deskaheh, journeyed to Geneva, Switzerland. In 1977, over 100 Native people journeyed to Geneva. During the early years of this century, each indigenous nation struggled alone for its survival. In 1978, over 100 indigenous nations were represented in The Longest Walk. Black Elk spoke of the fifth generation as the generation when the Sacred Hoop begins to mend. This is the fifth generation that now walks the Earth. Clearly, the Sacred Hoop is mending, and it is mending through the combined wills and beliefs of thousands of Peoples of many colors. The Black Peoples came forth with a strong show of support and alliance. The Yellow People walked many long miles and lent a strong spiritual support. The White People came from many places to lend their voices and support. The Red People came by the thousands.

But what did all these people rally to? Surely not to the speeches of men, or to a process of organization. Obviously they came as supporters of a belief in the Creator's work. The Creator's work is the business of being in balance with all living things of the universe.

In the Western Hemisphere only one People have maintained sight of that work, and that is the Native People. From the Four Directions of the globe, many people came to hear about and support that work. That is the process at work, and it has been the process at work since the beginning to time. We all took part in that work, but we must always continue to keep up that work because if one generation stops, so will the world.

THERE ARE THOUSANDS OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE UNITED STATES

(Ken Tilsen has been a lawyer fighting for the rights of Native people for a number of years. Among other things, he was a central figure in the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee, WKLDLOC, which defended American Indian Movement people against the indictments arising out of the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee, and related matters. The following article consists of excerpts from his speech at the FBI Building during the Longest Walk on July 18, 1978.)

We were surrounded by the FBI at Wounded Knee, and the FBI surrounded Indian people at Oglala, and on the Rosebud Reservation, and in Oklahoma, and in many other places over the last five years. It is perfectly fitting and proper and it's a real thrill to be here to see the Indian people, for a change, surrounding the FBI.

The newspapers want us to believe that there's a new FBI, that somehow or other the FBI has changed now that Hoover is dead. They want us to believe that Hoover was an old man who had many idiosyncracies, and that the policies and attacks on Indian people and the other people who had moved for change in America, were just the plans of J. Edgar Hoover. Well, it isn't true.

The new man who has taken charge of the FBI is a man who is well known to many of the Indian people and should be known to all of you. His name is William Webster, and before becoming Director of the FBI, he was a judge on the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals. We who struggled in the lawsuits that arose out of the events at Wounded Knee became well acquainted with William Webster. The first time we became acquainted with him was when we brought a lawsuit to bring food and medicine into the people who were surrounded by the FBI. A judge in South Dakota refused to give us an injunction to enjoin the actions of the FBI.

The FBI were beating people, and they were beating the legal workers. In a lawsuit called WKLDLOC vs. The FBI, in which the documented beatings and attacks and illegal surveillance on the Committee were all a part of the record, the judge who refused to enjoin the illegal activities of the FBI was none other than William Webster, the present Director of the FBI. That was in 1973.

In 1974, Russell Means ran for the office of tribal chairman of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation and in one of the most outrageous miscarriages of justice, Richard Wilson (the right-wing incumbent) stole the election. The United States Civil Rights Commission, no less, documented the method by which this election was stolen. A lawsuit was brought, and, as usual, in South Dakota we lost that lawsuit. For a change, when we went down to the Court of Appeals we were able to prevail in a 2 to 1 decision. But there was a bitter dissent and that dissent was by William Webster who said the U.S. Civil Rights Act did not reach the activities of the Goon Squads on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation and their stealing the election from Russell Means. That was in 1974.



In 1975, a number of very important criminal cases arising out of indictments against people who attempted to get to Wounded Knee and who never got there, were brought. A number of people had been convicted and the cases came up before the Court of Appeals. The U.S. Court of Appeals, again in a 2 to 1 decision, reversed those judgements and they reversed those judgements because of the interference with the First Amendment which was implied in applying the Civil Obedience Act to the acts of people who were attempting to bring food and medicine and otherwise to get to Wounded Knee. And again there was a vicious objecting dissent, saying that First Amendment rights had nothing to do with the events at Wounded Knee. And the judge who again made that bitter dissent was William Webster! And that was 1976.

In 1977, Leonard Peltier was on trial for his life, accused of murdering two FBI agents. During the course of the trial, one of the officious U.S. Marshalls had an argument with John Trudell, one of the leaders of AIM and the head of the Peltier Defense Group. John Trudell swore at this U.S. Marshall in a hallway during a recess, and as a result of that, he was sentenced to an unprecedented 60 days in prison — for cursing a U.S. Marshall during a recess in a trial! The totally unprecedented contempt of court case against John Trudell came up for appeal before the U.S. Court of Appeals and it was given to none other than William Webster who, in a terse decision, affirmed the contempt citation of John Trudell. As a result of these activities as a Judge he was rewarded by being given the Directorship of the FBI, and we all know what we can expect from him.

Within the last several weeks now, the major subject in the headlines of the newspapers here in this country and around the world has been our President's attacks on the Soviet Union for their treatment of dissidents, for their treatment of people who have been accused of political crimes against the Soviet Union. And in a remarkable breach of solidarity with the Carter Administration, as you all know, Andrew Young made a statement that there are hundreds, perhaps thousands, of political prisoners in the United States. Well, the President has called Young, and I'm told that he apologized.

Far be it from me to be cast in the unusual role of defending anybody in any political administration in this country. But I'm here to tell you that there are in fact hundreds of political prisoners in the State of South Dakota, and tens of thousands of political prisoners throughout this country. I won't have time to talk to you about more than a handful of them in the few minutes that I ought to take now, and I know that you will listen to the political prisoners who have just come out of prison. But let me tell you a little story.

In the State of South Dakota, there are about 175 American Indians in the Sioux Falls State Penitentiary. Almost all of them are there for specific political acts, not the least of which is Richard Marshall who is there serving a life sentence for the alleged murder, which he did not commit, of a man named Martin Montileaux.

I received a call from Dick a week ago Friday. He told me that he, Kenny Kane, and fifteen other American Indians were charged with the crime of illegal praying while in prison and were going to get five days in solitary confinement. I said to Dick, 'Now just a minute, Dick. Even in the Sioux Falls State Penitentiary they can't really charge anybody with illegal praying.' So he whipped out a sheet and he read it to me over the telephone. What it said was very clear.

They have a sweat lodge capable of handling about ten people. They have been using that sweat lodge pursuant to a court order that requires the prison in Sioux Falls to permit the Indian inmates of the penitentiary to practice

their religion. A few days before he called me, the prison authorities decided that the only time that the Indians would be allowed to pray was when the authorities decided they could pray. So they posted a notice and said no one shall enter the sweat lodge except at 8:00, once a day. Dick Marshall and the other persons I mentioned went into the sweat lodge, and the complaint that he read to me said:

"Such and such a sargent did then and there see Richard Marshall, et al., enter a sweat lodge to pray in violation of the rules of the prison." It so happens that another lawyer associated with me and my office went to the penitentiary for hearings that were held a week ago today. In fact, the men were given five days in solitary confinement, they were found guilty of illegal praying and they were suspended — that is, they don't have to go to the hole unless within the next six months they pray without permission again. Now if that isn't an incident of the not only genocidal practices against the Indian people, but of the political treatment of dissidents in this country, I don't know what is!

I want to tell you the story about an Indian woman on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, a very sad story. Her name is Myrtle Poor Bear. She is a very sad person, and she is not a strong person. She is not the kind of person who would be here among you. She is susceptible to the kind of abuses, the kind of pressures, the kinds of threats that people in her position are often subjected to by the FBI. Many of you know that in June of 1975, an Indian man by the name of Joseph Stuntz, along with two FBI agents by the name of Williams and Coler, were shot on the Pine Ridge Reservation in a shootout. Several months before that, a man whose name I have mentioned, a man by the name of Montileaux, was shot and killed in a bar in Scenic, South Dakota, just off the Reservation.

Conveniently for the prosecution, Russell Means and many of the other supports of the American Indian Movement happened to be present in the general vicinity. As a result, Russell Means and Richard Marshall were charged with the murder of Mr. Montileaux. Leonard Peltier, Robert Robideaux, Dino Butler and, originally, James Eagle, were charged with the shooting of the two FBI agents. Nobody was charged with the murder of Joseph Stuntz to this very day.

The FBI had a theory about the murder of the two FBI agents. Their theory was that they had been lured into an entrapment and executed. They also theorized that the person who did the execution was Leonard Peltier along with the others I named. They weren't able to come up with any evidence at all to support that theory, so along around January, February, and March of 1976, about a year after the shooting in Scenic and about nine months after the events at Oglala, an FBI agent by the name of David Price suddenly discovered that he could intimidate Myrtle Poor Bear.



At the same time, the body of an Indian woman, Anna Mae Aquash, was found on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. David Price knew Anna Mae well. Anna Mae was a dedicated leader of her people. Price obtained the burial of Anna Mae Aquash as an unnamed person. And he told Myrtle Poor Bear, 'If you don't cooperate with us, you will end up murdered like Anna Mae Aquash.' As a result, Myrtle Poor Bear signed an affidavit in February, 1976, for the purpose of obtaining the extradition from Canada of Leonard Peltier.

In her first affidavit, she said that she wasn't there, but she was Leonard's girlfriend and he had confessed the murders to her on two occasions. They did a little better about five days later, in mid-February, when they got another affidavit from Myrtle Poor Bear in which she said she was present and she saw Leonard Peltier murder the FBI agents. They took the first affidavit and they tried to hide it and they never sent it to Canada. They took the second affidavit and they sent it up to Canada. The lawyers in Canada said that they wanted more details. So they got a third affidavit — this one's dated March 31, 1976 — and it describes the murders exactly the way the FBI described the murders at the time it happened, describing in detail how Peltier and the others planned the entrapment of the FBI agents. She described how she pounded on Peltier's back while he shot them, how the agents bounced in the air. It was horrifying! It was terrifying!

Based on this last affidavit, Leonard Peltier was extradicted to the United States and is now serving two life sentences in prison in America's new Alcatraz which is at Marion, Illinois. A few days before that affidavit, FBI agents Price and Woods came to Myrtle and said, 'Okay, now you've got affidavits against Peltier and his associates. What are we going to do against Means and Marshall?' So they took a statement, brought her physically to the presence of the state prosecutors, because this was a state proceeding, and took a statement from her in which she said she was Richard Marshall's girlfriend and Richard Marshall had confessed the murder of Montileaux on two occasions. The two statements were relatively identical as to the substance.

Nobody knew in the Marshall trial, which commenced on March 30th, the day before she gave the statement in the Peltier trial, that Myrtle was giving these statements in the Peltier trial. In the Peltier trial, Myrtle had some support from the Indian people and her friends, and she came into the courtroom to tell the truth. And the truth was that she had never met Leonard or seen Leonard until the moment she walked into that courtroom. And every word of that horrifying, terrifying, detailed affidavit which supports the story of the FBI as to how that happened was written by the FBI!

But more than that, the matter of Peltier went down to the Court of Appeals because the judge wouldn't let the jury hear the testimony of Myrtle Poor Bear now that she was telling the truth, now that she was telling the story about how the FBI had coerced and threatened and bulldozed her into giving these statements. The matter had to be reargued before the Court of Appeals because this same William W. Webster, who is now the Director of the FBI, had been sitting of Peltier's appeal.

He had to get off the appeal. He became Director of the FBI and in April of 1978, a new judge was appointed to the panel of the Court of Appeals to take his place. On that new panel was a judge by the name of Ross.

Judge Ross was speaking to the U.S. Attorney of the Northern District of Iowa, a man by the name of Eban Holtzman, who is the chief trial counsel in all of the cases. Judge Ross said, 'Anybody who reads these affidavits knows that the FBI was coercing her (Poor Bear), forcing her to add more and more detail. You can see this.' Mr. Holtzman said, 'Yes, your honor, I don't condone it but it's just one of those things.' And Judge Ross said, 'But she was there. Does she know anything?' Mr. Holtzman said, 'Your honor, I want you to know that when Dino Butler and Bob Robideaux were tried back in '76, I looked at these affidavits and I checked with all of the volumes of physical evidence that we have, and I checked with all of the agents and everybody else, and I said to myself, Oh no! Myrtle Poor Bear isn't a witness! She was no witness at all! This was all an invention! So I did my duty. I didn't call her as a witness.'

And he wanted to be applauded for that! But this was April 1978, two years later, the first time this ever came out in a courtroom. Two years later and Richard Marshall is still serving his life sentence and Leonard Peltier is serving his two life sentences. And Judge Ross said to Mr. Holtzman, 'Mr. Holtzman, if the FBI is willing to do that, if they are willing to create evidence, it gives credence to the claim of the Indian people that they would be willing to create other evidence against them.' And Mr. Holtzman said, 'Yes, I know. That's just too bad that it gives credence to that claim.'

It was interesting, and more than a footnote, that agent David Price, along with William Woods, were the agents who created the false witness, Myrtle Poor Bear, because David Price had created a false witness before. Some of you recall that the trial of Dennis Banks and Russell Means was in its eighth month and the government had not proved a single one of its major claims. Then, after the government had rested and the defense had rested, the government came up with a surprise rebuttal witness. His name was Louis Moves Camp, and he had been with David Price and his then-partner, Mr. Williams, one of the agents who was killed at Oglala. They had been in Wisconsin, he had been bar hopping. You know, they put him on the stand and for three days, Louis Moves Camp testified to all the events at Wounded Knee. It was fortunate for the FBI and the prosecution that in one hour after he had left the stand, we proved unequivocally that Louis Moves Camp was not at Wounded Knee during any of the period of time he testified to.

He was in California. And we had recordings, we had tapes, we had pictures, we had such a volume of evidence that the judge dismissed the trial of Russell and Dennis, primarily on the misconduct, the outrageous behavior of the U.S. Attorney and the FBI in putting on perjured testimony.

Now I ask you this, Was David Price criticized by the FBI after he produced a witness who was a perjurer? Price, who lived with him in protective custody and was



— Ian Lindsay photo

Leonard Peltier ... A Big Heart For His People

involved in a rape matter while they were bar-hopping together? Read the record. It's all there. Was he criticized for this behavior? Was he demoted? Did he have to go through disciplinary proceedings? Oh no! David Price returned to the Pine Ridge Reservation to continue to be the main terrorist of the Indian people on that reservation.

And David Price stayed on that reservation to produce the perjurious testimony and was the primary if not the exclusive responsibility for the perjurious and invented testimony of Myrtle Poor Bear. Now I ask you again. Has David Price been fired? Has he been subjected to a disciplinary hearing? Have you done anything at all about this man who constantly produces false witnesses?

The trial of Dennis and Russell, and the trials of Bob, Dino, and Peltier, are not small matters. They are the two most significant trials in the U.S. in the last five years. There are no other trials that have taken place in this country in the last five years in which the FBI has invested the amount of time, energy, money and men. These are cases that they wanted, and they wanted bad. These are the most important cases. The incidents at Wounded Knee involved hundreds of FBI agents and the expenditure of millions of dollars out of this building, and they wanted convictions in those cases.

I wonder if we will find out that David Price received a salary increase and a reward for producing his perjurious testimony in the two most important cases the FBI has had in the last five years. I want to tell you, and particularly the people of the news media, that this isn't all of the misdoing of David Price. I've mentioned briefly his involvement in the murder of Anna Mae Aquash, a young woman known well to him who was executed with a bullet from a pistol held at the back of her head. The record in the Anna Mae Aquash matter will reveal the most blatant lying by Clarence Kelly, the Director of the FBI immediately preceding Mr. Webster.

I want to leave you with the statement that it has been wonderful to be here and to have been able to share these experiences with you and to renew many of the old acquaintances and to once again express my solidarity.

(... and it's coming soon to your hometown — watch for it!)



— graphic by Tomi Ungerer



SOME OTHER VIEWS (other than our own)

DIALOG IN NAVAJOLAND.....

The editorials on this page appeared in the ROUGH ROCK NEWS on May 15, 1978. AKWESASNE NOTES makes no endorsement of either viewpoint. We are presenting the material as examples of the dialogue which is taking place in many Indian communities concerning the introduction of Native culture to children in the schools.

GET BACK TO THE BASICS

Exerpts from Tribal Chairman Peter MacDonald's Expo '78 address

We have spent the last 15 years scurrying around looking for something different. We have Title I, Title IV, Title X. We have rushed to government titles. Education is not titles.

Meanwhile, the kids are growing while we are experimenting. Meanwhile, the child graduates without the skills necessary to work.

This mass confusion allows the child to lose out, and makes the kids unable to cope with real life.

We have overwhelmed the child with subject matter.

We have to get back to the basic 3 Rs.

Sure it is boring. I was bored, too. But I have to know what 2 plus 2 is, and how to write. I have to be able to read and understand.

This understanding must include what life is all about: morality, patriotism. You have to know your culture and your identity to know yourself and what you are, and to be willing to defend it.

What life is all about is work! You can't get away from work if you are going to survive. Learning institutions must understand these work values that are inherent in learning the 3 Rs. This is what will help a child function outside.

"I tell my children coyote stories before they go to bed at night. Why take up school time with films about coyote?"

"Why take up school time for (Sesame Street.) If my kids want to see that show, they can watch it all day on Saturday. Why waste school time with TV cartoons?"

We assume that the child is born with some native intelligence. Just a little cultivation will make him blossom.

Schools cost more each year. The amount per child is rising. As administrators who must provide the money, it comes home as a very high cost per child. We want to get our money's worth. If we spend \$15-20,000 per student to educate him, will this education bring about the desired product?

I pulled my daughter out of Headstart. One day I saw a child walk from one side of the room to the other and punch out another child. The teacher took the child by the hand, walked him back to the other side of the room, and said, "We don't do that."

Two minutes later he was punching out another child. Now I know that kids must be taught not to do that.

If my daughter punched out another child for no reason I would take her and hit her good with a stick. Spank 'em!

Because if you do that in society you will go to court, to jail.

There is discipline in this world! You don't just do as you please!

Tribal Chairman
Peter MacDonald



TIME TO LOOK FOR A NEW LEADER

The dedication and commitment shown by the people who attended (the Navajo Curriculum Expo '78) was encouraging. Teachers and administrators came from all over the reservation to see what's new in the area of language arts and social studies. The big question seemed to be: What is the direction that bilingual/bicultural education should take in the next few years?

No one who attended the meetings at the Expo was concerned with the questions of should we teach bilingually at all, or should we teach culturally at all. Everyone agrees that we need to teach Navajo children to be strong in both worlds... that they need bilingual/bicultural education. Everyone agrees on that... everyone, that is, except Chairman MacDonald.

Chairman MacDonald arrived in Rough Rock about 11:30 a.m. on the last day of the Expo. He then went to the shade house to eat the mutton stew and fry bread lunch. When he got up to speak to us, he had not heard or seen anything of what was going on here at the Expo.

The children had all been let out of school so they could hear the Tribal Chairman speak. We were all waiting for his encouragement — confirmation that we are going in the right direction. We assumed that Navajo community-controlled education had his support and that he felt it important to educate our children in the traditional ways of the Navajo as well as the modern ways of the Anglo culture.

What a disappointment he was! What he said showed that he didn't have the smallest idea of what we were concerned about at the Curriculum Expo. What he gave us was a tired old speech that we could have heard at the BIA twenty years ago.

Chairman MacDonald spoke about the need to stop teaching culture in the schools. He said the home was the only place where that should be taught.

The point, Chairman MacDonald, is that a community-controlled school gives the parents and the medicine men in a community the opportunity to come in and teach the children about the legends. With more and more Navajos leaving the reservation for jobs in the border towns it is the responsibility of the Navajo communities (not just one family) to make sure all Navajo children have the strength of the old Navajo ways behind them.

Chairman MacDonald also spoke of the need to go back to the 3 Rs, to stop all these field trips, and to get back to the old BIA system of discipline ("slapping us on the wrists with a ruler for the slightest noise").

Our emphasis on bilingual education is designed to strengthen the children in the 3 Rs. As for the field trips, children I have talked to emphasize their field trips as the highlight of the year. They end up learning something about life in the cities (where they probably will work at some time in their lives) and they leave school with a very positive feeling.

With the attendance problem that all schools have on the reservation, this is an important factor.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, because of our strong emphasis on teaching culture, we have been able to have Navajo teachers and Navajo parent aides in the classroom and they provide discipline that is in line with the ideas of the community. We are not opposed at Rough Rock to

"a spank" when a child does something dangerous or way out of line. What we are opposed to is using physical punishment to intimidate the children. What purpose does it serve for you, Mr. Chairman, to set up for us the example of the Anglo-run BIA — the very example that we are trying to change?

We are looking for leadership in Navajo education and Mr. MacDonald has been a big disappointment. Chairman MacDonald has shown leadership in conserving and developing Navajo natural resources.

But the most important natural resource the Tribe has is its children.

Where is the leadership in Navajo education? It is time to look for a leader who is committed to bilingual/bicultural education.

Mark Sorensen
Resource Coordinator
Elementary School



EDITORIAL BY

Mother's Day just zoomed by and Father's Day is just staggering towards us and as I understand next year is the United Nations International Year of the Children.

I can't stand children but I don't hate them, because I believe everyone should have a kid except parents. It is a fact that mothers and fathers usually make the worst parents and they have the nerve to say that they inherited their insanity from their kids. Single women are no better. They are usually too busy out libing around and as if it is some kind of fad they have to have dependents to prove their independence. No wonder the kids are all screwed up.

However, Uncles are different, especially if they are single. Reading one columnist's suggestion of an Uncles' Day, I realize how unrewarded and unappreciated we uncles are. In fact, it makes a lot more sense than a special day for mothers and fathers who spent most of their lives ignoring their kids. The only time parents pay attention to their children is when some stranger (always a stranger, those who know the kid better) praises the child for his intelligence, talent, good looks, manner or any other virtue. (I told you, a stranger!) It is then that

TO CLOUD THE ISSUES

S.2773 A THREAT TO NATIVE PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO KNOW

Albuquerque, N.M. (NIYC) — One of the purposes behind the Freedom of Information Act was to make government information available to any citizen — information that was not classified for reasonable security needs or did not invade another person's privacy.

But the so-called "Indian Trust Information Protection Act of 1978" (S. 2773) will provide a way for the U.S. government to keep information from the citizens of various Indian tribes. Obtaining information that Indian People need to know to secure their own survival will be made very difficult.

The congressional sponsors of this bill claim to be motivated by a desire to protect the "trust relationship" assumed by the United States. The U.S. government presently feels it is not required to release information to anyone — Indian or otherwise — unless the tribe's "executive" grants his/her permission and if the Secretary of the Interior determines that the trust responsibility is maintained.

By adding another layer of rules and regulations to the Department's existing procedures the intent is to close whatever exemptions that still make it possible to obtain so-called confidential information under the Freedom of Information Act.

What is the information the government wants to keep secret? And who are they keeping it secret from?

Much of this information "protected from release" by the bill includes all information on the natural resources and trust assets of the Indian tribes. However, much of this type of information is already in the hands of private multi-national corporations because they are the governments source of information!

A tribe's business committee or council leaders may be aware of this vital information, but the federal government may choose to keep it private from the Indian people — denying the fundamental right of information about the state of their own nation's resources and assets.

For example, a few years ago a report was prepared for the Bureau of Indian Affairs describing the vast mineral resources on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Neither tribal council members, a United States Senator, nor a private citizen were allowed even a glimpse of that report. The only way that the Sioux people could get that report was from the office of one of the world's largest multi-national developers. This example demonstrates that under the present and proposed procedures — the people most entitled to the information will have the least chance of getting it — and vice versa.

Not only will S. 2773 deal with the concealment of information on natural resources and trust assets but it includes "... tribal enrollment records, financial or business records, lease records, royalty records, studies of natural resource assets and any other information that the United States government feels is somehow related to the discharge of the United States' trust responsibilities." Keeping secret all of this information would raise serious questions that such a law would violate the earlier enacted "Indian Civil Rights Act."

While the bill does provide for exceptions, close examination of these exceptions discloses that only the most diligent and persistent Indian individual, tribal group or organization has any reasonable hope of obtaining the information they need about their own tribe. For example, the first exception provides that information shall be released, "(a) (1) in the case of

information pertaining to an Indian tribe — to the chief executive officer or any tribal councilman or official of an Indian tribe, *authorized to receive such information by the tribe.*" (emphasis added).

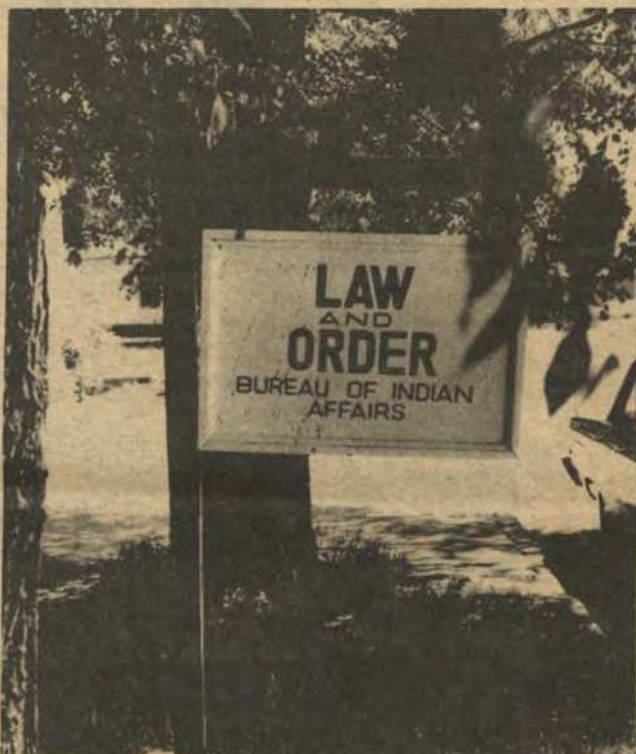
Many traditional Indian people do not recognize the authority of the chief executives of their tribes because their authority arises out of action taken by the legislature of a colonizing nation (America). Furthermore, some tribal leaders are puppets similar to those leaders in Africa and Asia who are controlled by Western colonial governments. Consequently, even if the tribal leader(s) has access to vital information, he/she can keep it from the members, especially those members who are considered the opposition or dissidents.

The bill does allow any tribal members to obtain information about his tribe if "... in requesting such information, has exhausted all tribal, judicial and administrative remedies..." If a tribe has no defined remedies, the member can only guess what actions might be taken before they can ask a federal court to rule that sufficient attempts have been taken and all steps have been exhausted. Only then can a request be made to the U.S. government for the information. Even if a tribal member goes through all the required steps and makes an FOI request of Interior, the request can still be denied by Interior if Interior determines the information would be inconsistent with its trust responsibilities.

Government agencies have been attending government-paid seminars where they learn how to frustrate, deny or impede FOI requests. Litigation can be undertaken, but it is time consuming, expensive, and diverts attention, energy and money away from the real underlying issues of resource exploitation.

Amendments to the Indian Freedom of Information Act should include provisions establishing the right of councilmen and individual members to obtain information on the same basis as the tribal chairman. This would improve upon the present policy as it would guarantee access to tribal information regardless of whether or not the Interior Department believes its release would affect the trust responsibility and relationship.

Uses and abuses of vital information about tribal resources and assets is so evident by today's activities of multi-national corporations on various reservations that one wonders why the BIA and the Interior Department appears to be supporting the current bill by their silence. Most Indians know that Interior Department is a training ground for future employees of the various multi-corporations dealing with natural resources, and vice versa.



SOOP - kainai NEWS

the parents cuddle, hug and slobber all over the tot with kisses in trying to get credit for the brats' supposed talents...— this invariably ends in a fight between the parents.

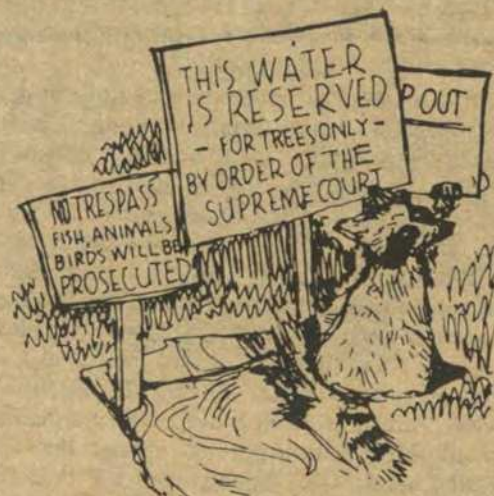
It is the kids who should be especially grateful for their uncles. Who is it that always gives you money when you don't even need it, and unlike your parents, he doesn't tell you that you have to earn it. Why, as a matter of fact, isn't it uncles that always put their loose change in your piggy bank, so your mom or dad can take the silver for cigarettes or gas in times of emergency, which is pretty near all the time, never to be repaid.

Who is it that babysits you when sisters and aunts are out looking for husbands or out proving their independence? And now-a-days Grandmas are too busy chasing Grandpas, who are out chasing independent girls. An uncle is not the most expert when it comes to putting on a diaper, but you got to admit that you smell a lot sweeter with shaving lotion on instead of baby powder. Of course, everyone knows that it is an uncle who teaches you all those things you weren't supposed to know and he's about the only one who laughs at

those words that you don't understand. Who is it that always has time to play with you and teach you the fine art of cheating, which is so necessary to your survival when you grow up?

And did you know why uncles never grow old? Because they have no wives and children to make them worry and grow old and basically they are over-grown kids who forgot to grow up, to be with nephews and nieces.

The truth is parents are jealous of uncles because they make better parents. But meanwhile, I guess we all have to love our parents. Not just because they are there or just on Mother's Day and Father's Day, but always, because we can't do without them.



SOME OTHER VIEWS CONT'D.

From THE SASKATCHEWAN INDIAN

Jean Chretien, the Federal Minister of Finance, has recently made cutbacks on the Budget. And guess who is affected by the pinch the most?

I always maintained that the last two governments who ran this country are a richman's government. The rich man who is supposed to actually control this country. Take for instance the big corporations are supported by our present government.

The owners of these big corporations in turn tell their employees where to put their Xs or they will find themselves jobless like the other million people who are unemployed. In other words, under handily scaring their employees to support this mixed-up government.

The biggest mix-up is the Department of Indian Affairs. And this is where the motto clearly spells out, "The rich get richer, and the poor get poorer."

Jean Chretien and his colleagues have been giving the Department of Indian Affairs half a billion dollars to do what they want to do with it annually. Before this money reaches the Indians, the Department officials cut themselves in on about 85-90 per cent of this Indian money.

And still further to Jean Chretien's cutback, the money that drip-drops from the rich bucket of the Department is being sealed up. The pinch does not bother the Department but it does effect the Indian people.

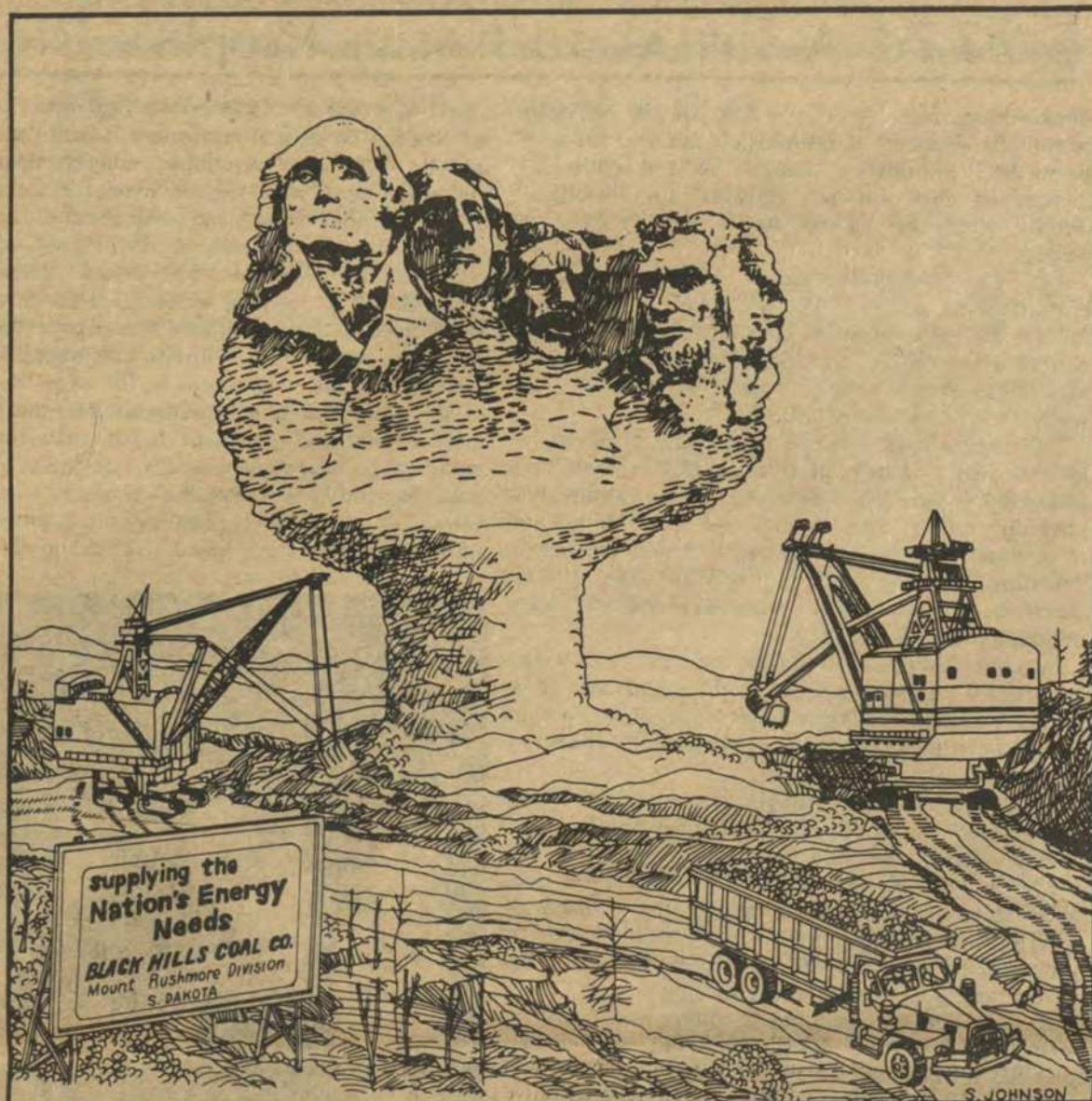
are living as parasites off Indian money, the Department's senior officials (who are more mixed up than our present government), pressured the Chiefs in laying off useful Indian Band staff.

I hope Chretien and his fellow Liberals realize that Indians now vote in Federal elections. And if they want to play the numbers game in polls, they're certainly a larger pile of Indian votes, more over civil servants by a large fraction.

Whenever the major governments make a decision in cutbacks, it is the poor people that suffer. Whenever a country is in shambles and badly disorganized, it is the poor people who will decide the fate of its' country in the end. It has happened in the past, and it is now happening and it is going to happen in this country sooner or later.

The only answer lies in having strong backed politicians who don't lie. Politicians who can take the reins away from red-taped civil servants who are actually making decisions for our representatives. These elected leaders were elected by common everyday people who hold the majority in this country. With our votes, we put these politicians to work for us, but it seems in the end they are working against us after being manipulated by slick scheming civil servants, who abide their time and make underhanded moves at appropriate times.

by Lloyd Brass



Reprinted by permission from the October 1973 Sierra Club Bulletin

LET THE MEN OF WISDOM SPEAK:

"We were contented to let things remain as the Great Spirit made them. They (the white men) were not, and would change the rivers if they did not suit them."

A Nez Percé Native American spokesman
quoted in *Touch The Earth*

from The Mother Earth News no. 25

SHORT NOTES SHORT NOTES SHORT NOTES

About one-half of the recoverable uranium in the United States lies under the Grants Uranium Belt in north-western New Mexico. More than half of the uranium leases are on Native land. Over the past 30 years, more than 90 million tons of radioactive uranium wastes have been produced in huge piles in northwestern New Mexico. In recent years, studies have shown that uranium tailings carried by the wind cause cancer rates up to double the normal risk for those living close to the piles, and that uranium mining causes high rates of cancer in mine workers. On June 24, Citizens Against Nuclear Threats (CANT) and the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC) demonstrated against this threat by releasing hundreds of balloons near the United Nuclear tailings pile at Grant New Mexico. John Redhouse,

NIYC associate director, said, "It's also an issue of physical and spiritual genocide." PHS reports have concluded that at least one out of six uranium miners have died prematurely because of lung cancer and related illnesses. The percentage among Indian miners is still higher due to the especially exploitative conditions under which they generally work.

Fred Kelly, one of the two top-ranked Indians in Canada's Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, has left his post "by mutual agreement." Kelly, who has been the director general of the Department's Ontario region since September, 1976, didn't explain why he left the position. Arthur Kroeger,

deputy minister of Indian Affairs, said that Kelly has a "personal problem" and that it was mutually agreed that he should resign.



SHORT NOTES SHORT NOTES SHORT NOTES SHOF

The Montana Power Company has been denied permission to expand its Colstrip Power Plant because the expansion would violate the Class I air status of the Northern Cheyenne Reservation 13 miles away. The ruling by the EPA will be argued in federal Court. MPC officials have stated that the cancellation would cost the project about \$130 million. No one has commented on the cost to the Northern Cheyenne people if the plant is allowed to be expanded.

Robert Burnette, who once wrote a book detailing the corruption in election procedures associated with Indian Reorganization Act governments, (see, *The Tortured Americans*), has filed suit asking that the recent election at Rosebud be overturned and new elections held. Among other things, he says that money, wine and meat were used to buy votes. Edward Driving Hawk says its all "garbage," (the charges, not the wine and meat,) and that it was probably the "best election" held on the Rosebud Reservation. Four others joined Burnette in bringing the suit. Burnette has served five terms as Chairman of Rosebud.

The Hyatt Regency Hotel in Phoenix hosted a dinner party and dance on May 27 for some of the city's Indian students, their parents, dates and friends. The bill, which came to \$3600, was to be paid from federal funds for special programs for Indian students in the public schools. Local Arizona newspapers, when they found out about it, were outraged. In an interesting note, however, the party was approved by the Arizona State Department of Education, which simply changed the proposal to read "student assembly" instead of "dance." Maybe it's true — you don't go to school to learn, you learn to go to school.

President Carter's Indian water rights policy statement has met with a deluge (excuse the pun) of disapproval by the country's Indian people. Carter's representatives suggested to a gathering of Indians in Denver in June that the tribes would be offered funds to develop their water. There was a cost: surrender your legally enforceable water rights. Some of the Indians present responded that the offer had the color of, well of blackmail. Charles M. Parrish, administration spokesman for the occasion, dismissed the accusation and referred to the offer as a vegetable solution. He said the offer should be viewed as akin to the proverbial carrot, clarifying on the spot who he considered the, er, donkeys, to be.

The Narragansett people may have some land returning to their possession soon. On June 20, Congress heard testimony on a bill which would implement a negotiated settlement to a Narragansett claim to lands in Rhode Island. Under the settlement, \$3.5 million would buy 900 acres of privately held land which would be turned over to the Narragansett Tribe. 900 more acres would be returned by the state, something that looks like a land trust would hold title, and use right would be transferred to the Narragansetts. There are restrictions on the use of the land, but in all, 1800 acres is scheduled to be returned to the tribe, which had claimed some 3500 acres of undeveloped land near Charlestown, Rhode Island.

A federal task force which has been struggling with the Washington fishing controversy has handed down a compromise plan which has regional newspapers throwing their hats up in the air. The plan calls for Indian fishermen to cease taking certain kinds of fish and to scale down the catch of other species, offers capital to help expand Indian fishing fleets, and reduces the number of non-Indian fishermen through a buy-back program and restricted licensing. Some Indians have complained that the plan in effect reduces the Indian right to fish as guaranteed by treaty, and is part of a threat — surrender your rights or those rights will be legislated out of existence. Both Indian and non-Indian fishermen have been studying the document.

Norman Lewis recently reported in an IWGIA document, **EASTERN BOLIVIA: THE WHITE PROMISED LAND**, that there exists widely in Bolivia a practice of keeping "criadas," young female Indians "adopted" by rural white families. These young females perform chores, including sexual functions, for the family, he reported. The practices was formerly called slavery.

Elijah Whirlwind Horse, the recently-elected Oglala Sioux Chairman, says the Pine Ridge Reservation is nearly bankrupt. He blamed mismanagement, citing a history of proceeding with unauthorized programs. The Treasury Department has made a lot of noises threatening to cut off the tribe's credit unless something is done, pronto. And, rest assured, Pine Ridge is not alone...



William Janklow, South Dakota's attorney general and a leading candidate for the Indian Fighters of the Twentieth Century Hall of Fame, is also a candidate for South Dakota governor. His television promotion has been using footage of the struggle at the Custer Court House between Indian people and the police. Some South Dakota observers say he can't lose.

Inupiat (some people know them as Eskimo) whalers complied with the whaling regulations concerning the taking of Bowhead Whales according to a report by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. They struck 15 Bowheads, landed 10. An international ruling in December decreed that up to 18 whales could be struck, 12 taken. The Inupiat had argued that without whales, their diet would be lacking in sufficient nutrients for survival in the Arctic and that the International Whaling Commission limit was inadequate to meet their needs. The Native people said that without the whale, human beings cannot survive in the far North.

Forest Horn, chairman of the Crow Tribe of Montana, has stated in an interview with a newspaper that relations between the Crows and local and state governments have taken a turn for the worse. Conflicts have arisen over fishing in the Bighorn River, a state coal tax, and gerrymandered legislative districts which were designed to decrease the Crow voice in the state government.

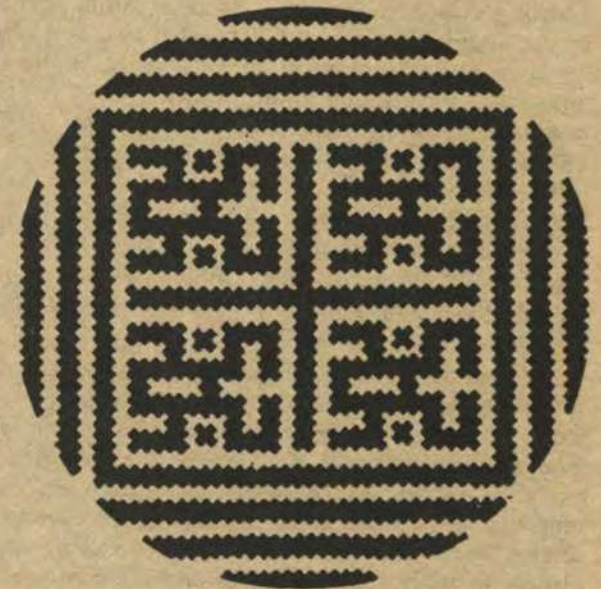
The General Assembly of the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories voted in March to change the name of the organization. Effectively immediately, what was formerly known as Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories will be officially known as the Dene Nation.

DIA minister Hugh Faulkner has cut off funding for N.W.T. land claims negotiations. He said that he had suspended land claims funding to the Dene Nation until the two can agree on a common position for one blanket land claims settlement. Faulkner is demanding that the Metis and Dene claims be combined into one claim, a position which denies the existence, for all practical purposes, of the Dine nation.

This January, the National Indian Brotherhood asked the Royal Commission of Canada to look into circumstances surrounding alleged break-ins at their offices in Ottawa, Regina, Saskatoon and Yellowknife. Hearings scheduled for late summer or early fall will hear allegations that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) may have been involved in the break-ins. The NIB has also asked for an investigation into a possible link between the RCMP and Douglass Durham, a self-confessed U.S. FBI agent provocateur who infiltrated the American Indian Movement shortly after the 1973 Wounded Knee occupation. Durham testified in 1976, before the U.S. Senate Sub-committee on Internal Security, that AIM went to Canada in 1975 and was responsible for the Native People's Caravan and the Indian riot on Parliament Hill. Durham was the FBI undercover operative who committed perjury during a hearing connected with the trial of Paul Skyhorse for the murder of a Ventura County, California, cab driver in 1974. Durham was never prosecuted for perjury.

Farmers in San Juan County in New Mexico are complaining that they can't sell their alfalfa hay because the Navajo Agricultural Products Industry (NAPI), a tribal organization, has swamped the market. There are reports that some of them have up to 90 percent of last years' crop still on hand with no apparent purchasers. The problem is not entirely one-sided, however. Recent reports from the Navajo side have indicated that the irrigation project is not meeting costs and is costing the tribe substantial amounts.

The complete record of the Berger Commission inquiry of the Mackenzie Valley pipeline proposals has been deposited in the Public Archives in Ottawa (Canada) and is now available to public scrutiny. The record consists of 281 volumes — 1767 submissions and exhibits filed by individuals, environmental and Native groups, oil and pipeline companies and government organizations, files, indexes, video tapes, maps, photographs, and copies of speeches and community hearings.



MASSACRE IN GUATEMALA

MORE THAN 100 NATIVE PEOPLE KILLED!

More than 100 Indian peasants were reported killed in what was described as an ambush by landowners and police in the small town of Panzos in the northern province of Alta Verapaz. Panzos is located about 200 kilometers north of Guatemala City. According to the Latin America Bureau (LAB) in London, several hundred Indian peasants from the surrounding villages had come to Panzos in order to protest to the local authorities against the persistent attempts of the big landowners to remove them from the land they and their families have lived on for generations.

The official account, released by the Guatemalan Ministry of Defense, states that 43 were killed and 17 wounded, besides the 7 soldiers who were wounded, "when armed peasants staged a surprise attack on the garrison in Panzos." In a declaration, the Government accused "left-wing guerrillas that operate in the northern provinces of Guatemala and incite the peasants to invade private estates." The English Latin America Political Report asserted that President Kjell Laugerud Garcia should have directly accused Cuba's Fidel Castro and the guerrilla movement EGP (the Guerrilla Army of the Poor) as well as other "subversive elements" such as Catholic and Protestant priests, of standing behind the events which led to the bloodshed. It has been urged that such elements have been urging the Indians to take over privately owned land.

Unofficial versions, however, state that the protesting peasants, who had come with their wives and children, were met by a group of armed landowners on the market place in Panzos. During the ensuing collision, the landowners, according to LAB, fired on the unarmed peasants. Thereafter, the soldiers from the local garrison joined in.

The peasants fled in panic. More than 100 were killed in the shooting, or drowned in the nearby Polochic River, in their desperate attempts to escape the carnage. Several hundreds, it is reported, were wounded. Many fled into the wooded hills near the city.

Amnesty International reported that the North Guatemalan city of Panzos, where more than 100 Indian peasants were killed on May 29th, has been cut off from the outside world in order to prevent the visit of observers, especially from foreign countries. According to Amnesty International, there were 25 women and 5 children among the dead.

Amnesty International and local church and humanitarian organizations fear that the closing of Panzos, now occupied by anti-guerrilla units, will mean that the wounded peasants who did not escape from the town, will be tortured by the army, the anti-guerrilla soldiers, or the local land-owners and the authorities. This is said to be a normal procedure in Guatemala, where the authorities very seldom admit the existence of political prisoners. Over the last ten years, at least 20,000 individuals have been murdered or disappeared.

The massacre has brought along strong protests from a large number of organizations in Guatemala. Students and workers arranged a protest demonstration in the capital on June 1, and labor unions, church organizations, and student organizations have demanded a thorough investigation of the affair.

The land problem is not new in Guatemala, but it has intensified in recent years as big corporations and large landowners move to gain control over more land. The land is coveted largely as a source of production of export crops (cocoa, coffee, bananas, cotton, etc.) But removing the Indians from the land is also a way of forcing them into the labor market, making them directly dependent on wage labor on the big estates and plantations. In this way, the Indians are forced to become part of the proletariat, and their lands and labor will be exploited in the interests of national and international monetary interests.

And in Alta Verapaz, a new element has come into the picture. The large oil deposits in neighbouring Mexico have been proven to originate from oilstrata that extend into the subsoil of Northern Guatemala and Southern Belize (which is claimed by Guatemala.) In some parts of the very thinly populated northern province of El Peten, oil has been found and exploitation has started. However, in order to get any profit from the oil, it must be transported to the center of the country. This is to be accomplished by means of a pipeline that is to pass through Alta Verapaz, including the Panzos district. Oil prospecting is presently in progress in Alta Verapaz.



"They are children of shy smiles, peace, love, and truth."

The Panzos area, like the rest of Alta Verapaz as well as Quiche, has become a boom area — a focal point for government development programs including land colonization schemes and a transnational highway. Much of the recent interest stems from the discovery of large nickel and oil deposits in the area, now being exploited by transnational corporations. The value of land has skyrocketed accordingly, and large landowners have moved to evict the Kekchi Indian peasants who have scratched out a living there for over a century. The government "agrarian reform" agency, INTA, has collaborated with the large landowners, giving them legal title to the land. Significantly, the head of INTA is the former president's brother. The Minister of Defense also owns large properties in the area.

Oil is behind the present conflict in Alta Verapaz. The projected pipeline and wildcat drilling have meant that prices for land have begun to rise. The big landowners, expecting even higher land prices, often try to drive the Indian peasants from the land. They are assisted in this effort by the Guatemalan military forces. General Romeo Lucas Garcia, who has succeeded Kjell Laugerud as President of Guatemala, is one of the big landowners in the Alta Verapaz province. He is considered a conservative.

It is very difficult for the Indian people of Guatemala to defend their land rights. Many of the Indians do not possess titles to their lands, and they face almost overwhelming power wielded by the huge landowners, the corporations, and the Guatemalan authorities. Native people in Guatemala often have a traditional and prescriptive right to the land they live on and cultivate, and Guatemala has often failed to recognize that kind of right to land. Throughout most of Guatemala's history, that right has not been systematically challenged. Until now. (It is true that several hundred thousand Indians have lost their land over the past 24 years, but it has mainly been land acquired under the land reform of

1951. This reform was revoked after a CIA-organized invasion by mercenaries brought a right-wing regime to power in 1954.)

In addition to the conflict over land, the drastic rise in prices which Guatemala has experienced this Spring has also contributed to unrest not only among the Indian peasants, but also among the workers and other wage earners in the cities. The price of bread has gone up by 25%, sugar by 60%, electricity by 27%, city busses by 100%, and telephones by 40%. These price rises are especially disastrous for the hundreds of thousands of small farmers and landworkers that almost completely depend on the extremely modest wages they can earn on the plantations, a few months a year, during the harvest season. Their situation becomes desperate when the land is either taken away from them or becomes so expensive that they are no longer able to pay the taxes imposed on them.

These pressures have produced not only demonstrations, but also a guerrilla movement which operates with success in many places. This is only possible because it finds support among the local Indian population, and because the peasants, since the 1960s, are acquainted with guerrilla warfare.

As eviction attempts increased over the last few months, the peasants organized and tried to defend their rights through legal channels. The only answers they received were false promises and increased repression. Most recently, three peasant leaders were kidnapped. On May 29, a group of 700 to 1500 men, women and children marched to the town plaza to inquire about the fate of their three missing companions and to ask that their rights to the land be respected.

The army and landowners were ready for them. According to peasants who escaped from the scene, a group of eight landowners had brought 150 soldiers from the military base at Zacapa and were waiting for the peasant group to arrive. The soldiers opened up on the crowd with machine guns and grenades.

Some people, including five women with babies, drowned as they tried to escape across the Polochic River. Others were hunted down or died for lack of medical attention, since the army barred the Red Cross from entering. The dead were quickly buried in a mass grave. Flavio Monzon, a landowner and local chief of the ultra-right wing MLN party, claimed to have been authorized by the Guatemalan President and the Minister of the Interior to kill the peasants. (He later denied his statements.)



The government has stuck to this story throughout, although the press and others have pointed out how unlikely it is that peasants would attack a military outpost armed only with machetes and accompanied by their children.

The massacre at Panzos has caused widespread outrage in Guatemala. On June 8, 50,000 people marched through Guatemala City, culminating a week of demonstrations and protests by student, labor, church, peasant and professional groups. The protesters have been asking for a thorough investigation to determine who is responsible for the massacre and demanding the resignation of Defense Minister Spiegel. Collections of medicine and money have been taken up for the survivors, especially the orphans.



"It's not right for us to be assassinated and kidnapped by the army, which we are told is here to defend us, when in reality it is we who must defend ourselves against the army."

These words were part of an open letter to Guatemala's President Laugerud sent in May by Indian peasants in northern Quiche Province.

Meanwhile, the repression continues. Claiming that the peasants are regrouping in the hills to "attack" again, the army has occupied the entire area. Helicopters are tracking down those peasants who managed to run to safety in the hills, while Navy boats patrol the Polochic River. Press and medical personnel have been escorted in only once; leaders of popular organizations have been denied entrance. Soldiers from bases at Coban, Zacapa and Poptun patrol the streets and hills — among them a large contingent of anti-guerrilla Special Forces known as kaibiles.

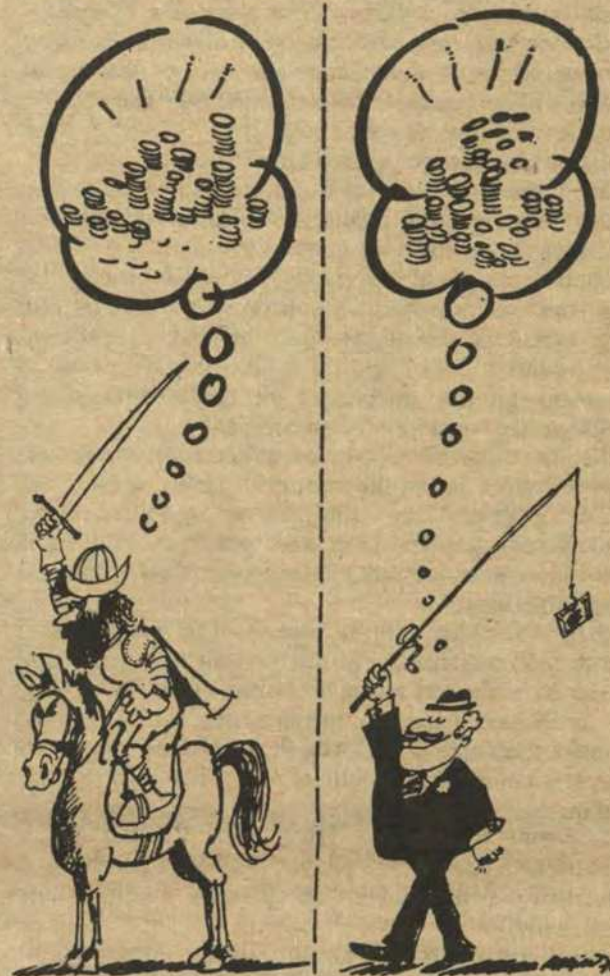
Many of the protesters pointed out that Panzos forms part of a larger pattern of persecution and attacks against the peasantry, stemming from resistance to miserable living and working conditions. While one percent of the population owns nearly 80 per cent of the land, most peasants live on tiny, eroded plots which don't produce enough for them to feed their families. Three quarters of all Guatemalan children under five are malnourished. Many peasants turn to seasonal work on the large coffee, cotton and cattle farms, earning dollar-a-day wages and living in open stalls.

The bishop and priests of Quiche Province concur, denouncing the "systematic and implacable extermination of community leaders and church laypersons in northern Quiche" by the army and private goon squads of the landowners. Over 100 people have been killed over the last three years in the Ixil and Ixcán regions, prompting letters of protest from the peasants and Church. The Committee for Justice and Peace, a church-related group, writes: "We also know of the disappearance and assassination of several people in Tactic of Alta Verapaz, on the southern coast, in Tecpan and other places; of the treacherous attack on a peasant in San Martín Jilotepeque and many other cases which appear every day in the newspapers together with the news of evictions of peasants from their lands, price rises for everything, and low wages; and the forced recruitment of peasant youths for the army, which takes them to the barracks and then forces them to kill their own people..."

Gen. Romeo Lucas García will be forced to try to resolve this aggravated land conflict. And it is a difficult conflict to resolve, because there are powerful economic interests behind the efforts to secure the land of the

Indians. And also because an unambiguous opposition to the ultra-reactionary policy of the different governments has surfaced. Guatemala has seen not only protest demonstrations in the cities, but also gestures of sympathy, strikes, and the like. The Guatemalan landowner-general from Alta Verapaz has inherited a political estate in bankruptcy, a fact strongly stressed by the massacre in Panzos.

(The information in this report was largely drawn from the June 1978 IWGIA NEWSLETTER, to whom we are grateful for this information.)



INDIAN BACKLASH GROUP SEEKING CONTRIBUTIONS ILLEGALLY.....

by DAN NOYS

San Francisco (PNS) — An examination of Internal Revenue Service Records has revealed that a large national organization, the spearhead of a new "backlash" movement against Indian lands and tribal claims, has been regularly soliciting illegal contributions from its members and the public.

The organization, the Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities, ICERR, which has enlisted tens of thousands of members, regularly requests donations with the promise that they are tax-deductible. But according to IRS records in Washington, ICERR has never applied for tax-exempt status.

Founded two years ago, the ICERR has pressed an active lobbying campaign in Congress designed to counter what it regards as unfair preference granted to tribal claims involving land, minerals, water and fishing rights. Eleven backlash bills have been introduced in the current session of Congress, the harshest of which would cancel all existing treaties with Indian tribes.

ICERR is also supporting lawsuits in twenty states attacking Indian claims.

The report on ICERR's tax status was made jointly by the Tribal Sovereignty Project, a public interest organization supporting Indian rights, and the Youth Project, a national organization of public interest activists based in Washington, D.C..

Senator James Abourezk (D.— S.D.), chairman of the

Select Committee on Indian Affairs, has asked the two organizations to turn over their files for possible further official investigation.

Blair Richendifer, ICERR's executive director, discounted the tax-exempt problem. When asked about the charge of illegally soliciting funds, explaining that as long as the donations did not represent a large sum, they presented no problem. "That's what our lawyers told us," he said. Rick Reed, president of ICERR, said that the organization will spend about \$50,000 in 1978, with more money spent by individual state affiliates and chapters.

"I have read different articles where ICERR has raised coffers full of money, in the millions of dollars, and maintains a big office in Washington," he said. "We have a lot of friends' support in these things which are not directly associated with ICERR. In the overall picture, then, maybe it's bigger."

Reed also claimed that ICERR has applied to the IRS for tax-exempt status and has assumed that contributions are deductible. "Most contributions," he said, "are for small amounts of ten or twenty-five dollars." However, Ron Erickson, an ICERR lawyer in Seattle, said the organization has not asked the IRS for tax-exempt status. Registration papers show that ICERR was incorporated in South Dakota in 1976.

Although Erickson denied knowledge that ICERR has

ever made any claims for its tax-deductible status, the organization's basic handbook, *Are We Giving America Back to the Indians?*, declared prominently, "Anonymous donations also accepted — all donations tax-deductible."

Lloyd Ingraham, a lawyer from Roland, Montana who testified before Congress for ICERR last March, claimed ignorance of ICERR's solicitation of tax-deductible contributions, and said that he did not know of any contributions that had been made to ICERR other than dues from local groups. Yet when a reporter called Ingraham in May to ask how he could contribute to ICERR, he was told the organization had applied to IRS for tax-deductible status and that a contributor should write off any donation on his federal tax return.

"I give contributions and write them off in the expectation that the tax rating will be permitted. If it isn't, let Uncle Sam take exception to it, and I'll pay the difference then. Certainly there's nothing fraudulent about it," Ingraham said.

Since ICERR has not filed the proper IRS exemption forms, it is potentially liable for taxes on any lobbying activities it has performed, as well as being open to the charge of fraud by contributors, one IRS official said. Lawyers for the organization could also be charged with malpractice for not informing ICERR officers of the situation that exists.

THE NAVAJO NATION and Resource Development

a report by Tom Barry

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M. (LNS) — Navajo Indians are stepping up their challenge to corporate exploitation of their energy resources and communities — exploitation which they know is in the planning stages, as well as that which is already underway. The Navajos are opposing both the companies and the tribal officials who have cooperated with those companies in a number of communities across the Navajo lands. The Navajo territory is the largest, and one of the most energy-wealthy, in the United States.

The grassroots Navajos at Burnham are fighting to stop stripmining and coal gasification plans. The people of Shiprock have voted unanimously against the Exxon uranium project. At Star Lake, Navajos are refusing to give the coal companies permission to transport coal over their land. Up at the Aneth oilfield, people from Montezuma Creek and Aneth recently occupied company property to protest the exploitation of the underground wealth by the oil companies.

Nearly two-thirds of all low-sulphur strippable coal reserves and much of the country's uranium is on Indian land. "There are transmission lines overhead, underground gas pipe lines, and coal in slurry lines all over the reservation," comments Navajo Tribal Chairman Peter MacDonald.

But, he added, "It is obscene for energy to be produced on Indian lands and yet see our own people deprived of the very barest necessities of life."

The Navajo Tribe, for example, gets a royalty of 15 cents a ton for coal mined by Peabody Coal — later sold by the company for \$30 a ton. That coal goes to generate electricity for Phoenix, Tucson, Albuquerque, Las Vegas, and Los Angeles, while on the Navajo Reservation only 39 percent of the homes have electricity (compared to 99 percent of the homes nationally.)

As LaDonna Harris, director of the Americans for Indian Opportunity puts it, "We're the poorest people in the country, despite our resources. Now why in the world is that? ...Because," she answers her own question, "government policy has encouraged the use and development of these resources by non-Indians and has simultaneously encouraged tribal members to move to the cities for outside employment." Native Americans, she says, should be able to realize "more from their resources than just a lease payment" from the corporate exploitation of resources.

The Navajos are the most energy-rich of all Indian peoples — the 17 million acre reservation contains a wealth of resources: 1.5 billion board feet of commercial timber, 4 billion tons of recoverable coal, 80 million pounds of uranium, 23 billion cubic feet of gas, and water sufficient to irrigate about 5 million acres.

A recently-released study by Lorraine Turner Ruffing of the University of West Virginia examines the mineral development of the Navajos and compares it with that of underdeveloped, resource-rich countries.

The minerals on the Navajo Reservation and the minerals in underdeveloped countries are all exploited by large, vertically integrated multinational corporations, notes Ruffing in her study, *Mineral Development*. Because of the tremendous capital and technology available to these companies, such as Exxon and Peabody Coal, they have been able to gain the upper hand in negotiating with the resource-rich countries.

In many ways, the position of the Navajos is worse. The legal status of Indian tribes is that of "wards" of the U.S. government under the jurisdiction of the federal agency, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). Having ultimate control, "the BIA has consistently favored one method of exploiting Navajo resources — to lease them to non-Indians. The contracts they [the BIA] concluded are among the worst ever made," writes Ruffing.

Except for oil, royalty rates have usually been fixed in dollars per unit of the mineral produced rather than as a percentage of the value of production. Such royalty schedules do not allow the tribe to gain from any increase in the market price of the minerals.

"For example, in four out of five Navajo coal leases let between 1957 and 1965, the royalty rate was fixed between \$.15 and \$3.75 per ton. Meanwhile the national value per ton of coal has risen from \$4 to \$20 in the time since the leases were negotiated.

"Not only are the returns a small fraction of the market price," notes Ruffing, "but there is doubt whether the actual amount produced is reported correctly and the royalty actually paid. The BIA does not verify the companies' production records or insure that the royalty is paid on time."

Another reason for the low rate of return is the pressure put on the tribe to develop its resources quickly. The Navajo position is further weakened because it depends on the mineral revenues as its largest single source of tribal income. The tribe is consequently reluctant to hold its resources until the market price improves.

"The result has been poor contracts with inequitable terms," notes Ruffing. "Navajo oil, gas, coal and uranium leases possess the same universal flaws: fixed royalties, low percentage values of production on lease periods, no effective readjustment mechanism, and vague employment and environmental clauses.

A final factor adversely affecting Indian nations is that state governments often get more from the mining companies in taxes than the Navajos get in rents and royalties. For example, in 1975, Peabody Coal Company paid Arizona \$1.3 million in property taxes and gave the Navajos \$678,285. The Arizona tax figure excludes severance, sales and transaction taxes.

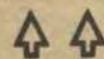
Navajo Chairman Peter MacDonald has called this disparity the "legal theft" of Navajo resources. In many cases, Navajo contracts prohibit any Indian taxation, thus allowing the states to capture the largest share from mineral development.

Ruffing concludes that the Navajos should begin renegotiating all inequitable leases, using new forms of agreements such as joint ventures, service contracts, and production-sharing contracts.

Navajo grassroots opposition to the tribe's energy development policies has in recent months flared up in the Eastern Agency around Crownpoint, an area that the uranium companies predict will soon become the center of the uranium boom. Over half the country's uranium reserves are located in northwestern New Mexico.



"THE CONTRACTS THEY [THE BIA] CONCLUDED ARE AMONG THE WORST EVER MADE," WRITES RUFFING.



Fifteen uranium companies have expressed interest in mining uranium in the Crownpoint, Churchrock, and Marinao Lake districts. Some, including Phillips Petroleum, have already started hauling the ore out of the underground shafts, and most plan to begin operations by 1980.

In May, the residents of Dalton Pass, just west of Crownpoint, passed a resolution calling for a halt in the uranium development. It was one of the first signs that the people who will be directly affected by this new uranium development oppose the plan.

"We have become increasingly alarmed at the present and the planned uranium mining activity in our community and are most fearful of its effects on our health, welfare, property, and culture, as well as the well-being of future generations," the resolution stated.

And that is not a statement to be taken lightly, given that it comes from people who supply the bulk of the labor force in uranium mines where the daily radiation level exceeds by 6.5 times the levels allowed by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. They have already seen Navajo workers on their reservation die of cancer caused by radioactivity in the mines. They charge the companies with not only refusing to give benefits to the victims but actually denying the link between uranium mining and cancer.

In addition, they know that environmental impact studies show that the new uranium mines will seriously deplete the area's water supply, undermining the current economic structure. The mines will cause the water table to drop 1000 feet within a 10 mile radius of Crownpoint, according to a local attorney. And the residents have seen from leases signed in the past that the companies are not interested in compensating in any way for such upheavals in a community.

"We are unalterably opposed to all uranium exploration within our boundaries," said the 32 members of the Dalton Pass Chapter (a subunit of the Navajo Nation,) who voted unanimously for the resolution.

The resolution cited the following reason for their position:

† The air we breathe will be poisoned by radioactive elements released into the atmosphere. Present environmental standards are inadequate to prevent the introduction of these cancer causing agents into the air, and we fear the disease that will result to ourselves and our livestock.

† Radioactive elements will pollute our water supply, causing disease to ourselves and future generations.

† Massive use of ground water will pollute our present water supply and eventually cause it to be exhausted.

† The pollution of the air and water will destroy livestock and thereby result in great unemployment.

† Large numbers of non-Indians will flood our communities, and we fear the deterioration of the meager services that now exist.

† Non-Indians will not respect our culture, our dignity, or our privacy. We note that this has already happened in other areas of the reservation where mineral exploration is occurring. Already, sacred and historical sites precious to our culture have been wilfully and wantonly destroyed.

The chapters have no part in the making of tribal decisions, and they only have the recourse of passing a resolution when they are in disagreement with the decision of the tribal chairperson and council.

In a move related to the resolution, over 40 residents of Crownpoint have signed a petition asking that Chapter officials and Tribal Council members be given full access to all information about proposed energy developments on the Navajo lands.

The petition, organized by Cecil Largo, complains that the tribal government "has begun to plan massive projects for resource development that will have drastic impacts on the land and quality of life of Navajos, without consulting or listening to the views of local people."

Without disseminating information on these plans, "the administration can effectively manipulate the decisions of the council to achieve its own ends, regardless of the wishes of the people."

DINE' OCCUPATION OF TEXACO

"THE HIGHEST OCCUPATION LEVEL REACHED WAS BY ONE NAVAJO WHO WAS A TRUCK DRIVER"

Albuquerque, N.M. (NIYC) — After more than two decades of physical harassment, livestock destruction and irreparable environmental damage, the Navajo residents of Montezuma Creek took over and completely shut down the entire Aneth Oil Field. The occupation was led by the Utah chapter of the Coalition for Navajo Liberation (CNL). According to Texaco, the takeover affected about "200 producing wells, 100 water-injection wells, and a daily oil production of approximately 9,000 barrels of oil a day." The occupation took place on the part of the Navajo territory which maps show as a part of Utah.

There are approximately 4500 Navajo people who live in this part of the Navajo country which borders the San Juan River. Most people depend on agriculture and their livestock, principle among which is the sheep which they raise for the wool for their famous rugs. Average annual income in this part of the country is among the lowest of any region in the geographic region known as the United States.

The events leading to the occupation began on March 13 when Peter Menally, 18, set out to locate his family's herd of sheep and goats. When he reached the top of a mesa, he heard laughter in the valley below and observed three oil company workers at an oil pumping unit torturing one of the goats.

"They would drag the goat a distance, pick him up, and toss him about to one another. All this time the goat kept bleating," he said.

Peter shouted for the workers to release the goat as he began descending the mesa. The workers angrily condemned the goat for intruding upon company property and demanded that Peter Peter "get your god-damn goats out of here." Peter asserted that his goats had every right to graze where they wished because "these goats have grazed upon this land long before the oil companies arrived." A few minutes of argument ensued when one of the workers got a pistol from his truck and pointed it at Peter, threatening to kill him. Peter left the area but not before he was shot at four times.

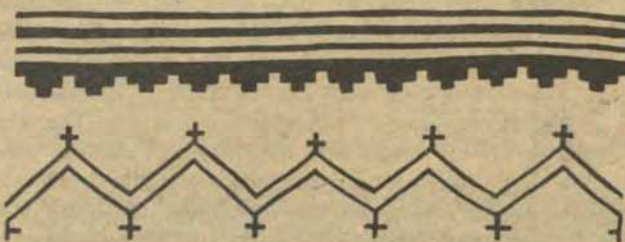
In an earlier incident, a company tractor appeared to begin site preparation for a new oil pumping unit on land customarily used by Johnny Ray for grazing. Company personnel told Ray that the oil company had "leased this land to drill for oil from the Navajo Tribe. This agreement is binding between the oil company and the Navajo Tribe, not with one individual Navajo." An argument erupted followed by a violent fistfight.

The acquisition of the Aneth Oil Field and other adjacent oil fields by major oil companies occurred during the 1950s. The lease, filed with the Interior Department through the Bureau of Indian Affairs with the tribal chairman's consent, virtually hands over the land to the companies to do with it what they please. A copy of the Aneth Oil and Gas Mining Lease gives the "...lessee the exclusive right and privilege to drill for, mine, extract, remove, and dispose of all oil and natural gas deposits..."

While the Navajo Tribe receives some \$8.9 million each year in royalties from the Aneth Oil Field, the royalties are funneled through the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and the Tribe complains that it has not received an adequate accounting of where the money goes. Most of the revenue is budgeted to provide for government and social services programs including a healthy 37.5% which goes to the State of Utah and is administered by the Utah Division of Indian Affairs.

Although the leases stipulated employment for local Navajos, there are only about 100 Navajos employed throughout the fields in Aneth. A former employee of Phillips Petroleum stated, "Most of the navajos who work for the oil companies work in low-skilled jobs and earn little wages. On top of this, we are constantly harassed to act as company men rather than as Navajo workers working for the oil company." One of the protesters at the time of the occupation agreed, saying, "The highest occupation level reached was by one Navajo who was a truck driver."

Navajo people later explained that they occupied the Texaco site because Texaco is the largest oil company in the world, and that if they could stand up to Texaco, people would see that these huge companies can be opposed. Navajo people sealed off the entire location to the oil companies for more than twenty days. The oil companies finally agreed to eighteen of the twenty demands presented to them. Two of the demands the oil companies did not agree to were the demand for more employment opportunities for the local Navajo residents and, of course, the demand for the renegotiation of the leases.



President Carter's energy policy of shifting from foreign oil to domestic supplies and price incentives for newly discovered oil wells resulted in the increase of wildcat drilling activities by the major oil companies on Indian lands, including the Aneth site. As more oil pumping units were built, people have been pushed off the lands they need for grazing their animals.

According to Calvin Thomas, a CNL leader, the "standard practice was that oil pumping units were spread out at a circumference of one every 80 acres. But in the last year and a half, the circumference was reduced to 40 acres. Now it's down to 20 acres.

The quality of the community's water has been destroyed by oil spills and the companies' use of salt water injection methods to raise subsurface oil. In addition, the corporations replace the oil pumped out by forcing water down the wells through the pumping units. One can only surmise what these methods do to the water supply through underground seepage. According to Ella Sakizzie, President of Aneth's CNL Chapter, "The water all tastes like salt and oil now. It used to be that you could go over the hill to get fresh spring water, but now you have to go all the way to Cortez."

The companies have also been accused of refusing to control the gas fumes resulting from pumping. Thomas said, "When there is no breeze you can smell gas all over the area." Sakizzie further added, "we used to have many more trees and green bushes but now the land looks poor because of all the drilling and company roads. When it rains or snows the oil and the chemicals from the drilling sites get mixed up with the water and drains all over the land. And our animals are dying too. I used to have 3,000 sheep but now I only have 40. When you open the intestines of the dead sheep you can find little hard rocks of white chemicals that the sheep can't digest."

There have been other problems associated with the arrival of the big corporations and the attendant extractive mentality. Oil company workers have been accused of molesting the women, bringing alcohol and drugs into the community, stealing livestock, and a total disrespect of the Navajo People demonstrated by digging up gravesites and feeding the remains into rock crushing machines.

The Aneth occupation received the support of several local chapters of the Navajo Nation and, because the incident coincided with the Native American Treaties and Rights Organization (NATRO) meeting at Window Rock during that time, it was also endorsed by many tribal leaders from across the country.

(This article adapted from an article by Al Henderson which appeared in the May, 1978 edition of AMERICANS BEFORE COLUMBUS.)

THE NAVAJO NATION cont.

The petition goes on to accuse the tribal administration of "selling off valuable Navajo resources under short-term leases, resulting in the total depletion of Navajo mineral wealth within a single generation, rather than enacting comprehensive taxing programs to provide greater income to the tribe for long periods into the future."

The petition demands that further tribal mineral leasing stop until the Council adopts better environmental safeguards and better leasing practices.

The concerns of the Dalton Pass Chapter are echoed in other reports. Of special interest are the economic arrangements which are being considered by the Navajo council. For example, Exxon has offered a joint venture contract to the tribe for a uranium mining project, and the company is also demanding 49 percent of the working capital from the Navajos. "There is no reason why Navajos should have to contribute capital," writes Loraine Ruffing. She adds that the Exxon agreement and other Navajo leases are currently based on the theory that resources are worth nothing until developed, rather than saying that the companies' technology is worth nothing unless they can get at Navajo resource capital.

The Navajo Tribal Council, meanwhile, has been trying to follow the examples of some other Native groups. It is beginning to attempt to levy taxes. The Crow Tribe of Montana was the first Indian tribe to levy a coal severance tax. This 20 percent tax has been approved by the Department of the Interior. In New Mexico, the Jicarilla Apache imposed a severance tax on oil and gas.

At the beginning of February, 1978, the Navajo Council voted to approve the creation of a possessory interest tax that will principally effect major energy industries on the reservation. It has considered a five

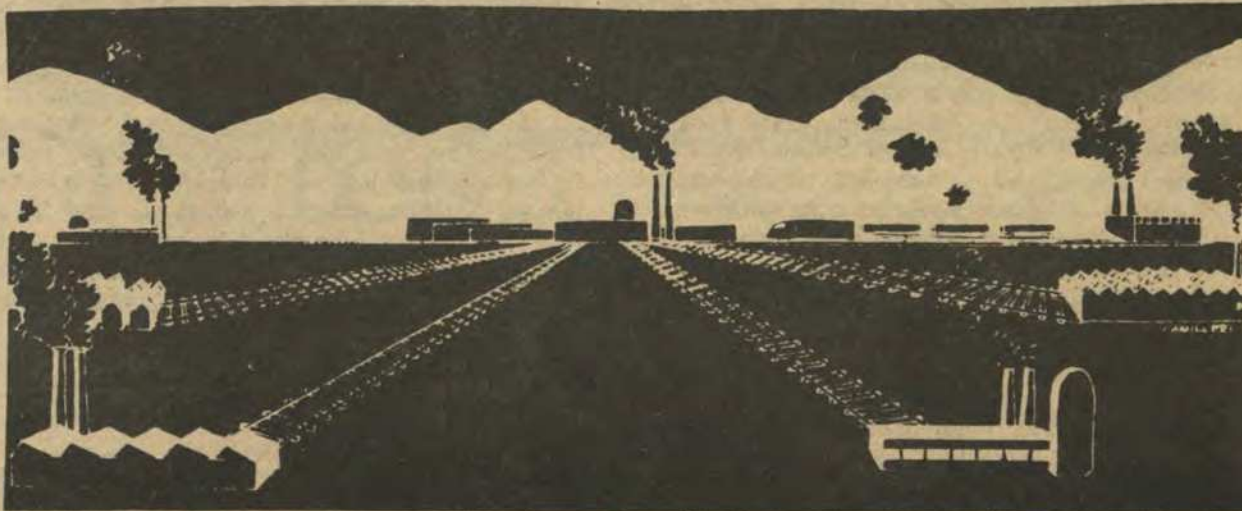
percent "Business Activity Tax" on the gross receipts of any industry whose income is above \$100,000 a year. And several months ago, the council approved a tax on sulphur dioxide emissions from the reservation's power plants.

Concerning the sulphur tax, MacDonald said, "We are letting the power companies know that if they want to pollute the air around the Navajo Reservation they will have to pay for it. We consider sulphur emissions a serious health hazard. We are not doing this for the money. It is our contention that if the power companies have enough money to pay this permit fee [the sulphur emissions tax], they should use it to buy scrubbers and other devices so that our air is clean."

The three taxes being enacted by the Navajo Tribe will

bring in an estimated \$55 million annually. "This is a serious step forward to economic independence," said McDonald.

But it is clear that there are many people in the Navajo Nation who disapprove of the actions of Peter MacDonald and the Navajo Tribal Council and its present policy of resource development. An elderly traditional Navajo woman had angry words when interviewed by the NAVAJO TIMES: "The men from the mining companies came and talked to us, but they said that nothing could be done now to change the plans. 'It's all approved,' they said. The tribal government approved it a long time ago, but they didn't tell the chapters about it. Window Rock (location of the Tribal Council) doesn't think of the people here; all Window Rock wants is the money."



"...the United States is violating international law!"

Few law firms or individual lawyers have been involved in the work of protecting the rights of Indian nations or communities against the injustices caused by the legal conditions imposed under United States law. There are some reasons for this lack of interest on the part of lawyers and law firms — there is very little money available to pay for such efforts, and the fight for rights is not likely, in most cases, to produce monetary settlements which can support legal work.

There are other reasons, also. "Indian Law" is an area of legal specialty which requires enormous research, and is an area of legal study given little emphasis in law schools. And, while many people can easily and comfortably pursue the rights of citizens of the United States, the United States, it is less popular to think in legal terms of the rights of groups of people. Only a handful of legally-trained people have devoted their time and expertise to the problems of specific and identifiable groups of people which have rights under every imaginable criteria by which rights should be recognized except one — the municipal laws of the modern states.

That groups of people also have rights which are not recognized in U.S. law is easily provable. Finding ways, within the systems which exist for the protection of rights, is far more difficult. It is possible to state, in fact, that the U.S. laws and the way those laws are interpreted by the courts, are the major barrier to the recognition and implementation of even the most basic of rights for Native peoples.

One of the few legal organizations which attempts to deal with the problem is the Indian Law Resource Center in Washington, D.C. At this writing, the ILRC is the only national organization which responds to the serious legal needs of Native peoples and governments which insist on asserting their sovereignty, their treaty rights, and their human rights without bowing to the abusive limitations of United States law. One of the stated goals of the Center is to seek the application and recognition of principles of international law with respect to Native affairs in the United States and throughout the Americas.

The Indian Law Resource Center is presently working with the Traditional Seminoles of Florida, the Lakota Treaty Council, the Six Nations, and the Hopi Kikmongwis, among others. Last year, the ILRC staff was successful in organizing and carrying out an important conference at the United Nations in Geneva, Switzerland which attracted world-wide attention to the problems of Native peoples.

Robert T. Coulter, who is the Director of the Center, has been involved in the struggle for the recognition of the rights of Native nations as nations for more than six years. His work has been a major factor in the developing struggle for the recognition of those rights. The lack of recognition of the legal rights of Native communities and peoples to exist as communities and peoples is clearly the foundation of the system of colonialism which serves to exploit Native lands, labor, natural resources, and environments, and which supports the spectrum of social problems on the Native territories. The article which follows was adapted from an interview with Mr. Coulter on July 18, 1978.

I don't see any hope in the domestic law setting for the vindication of Indian rights. Indian rights didn't originate there (in domestic law) and they won't be upheld there. And Indian rights are not truly upheld under the so-called federal trust responsibility. There isn't much that is important about Indian rights except their rights as nations. Probably most Indians have this point of view.

We try to provide legal assistance to people who think clearly and try to act like nations. NARF (the Native American Rights Fund, a federally and privately funded legal assistance program which is supposed to defend Native rights — ed.) will not assist people like that. Nobody is willing to help people assert their rights as nations. There are a few private lawyers who do that, but not law firms.

In the Maine case, for example, as far as I know the only brief they have filed up to this point has asked for an extension of time. The federal brief said that the claim is so great that the claim should be settled by Congress. What they meant was that the bills in Congress would simply extinguish, do away with, their rights to land.

To my way of thinking, when an attorney goes to court and argues for an extension of time to allow the extinguishment of his clients' rights, as the Justice Department did in this instance, that raises serious questions about peoples' rights to proper representation! The Passamaquoddy and Penobscot people have stated in past years that they are sovereign nations. But their rights as sovereign nations only exist in international law. The claim is not put forward in that way. The claim is presented in such a way that they are forced to admit that their rights are subject to United States law. It is extraordinary that a class of people can demonstrate that they have property and they are told by the courts, the media, and so forth that if they do not give up the greater part of their rights, they will have all of their rights taken away.

The Native American Rights Fund is one of the principle proponents of the trust theory. The trust responsibility is an invention of people who thought there was something wrong with the policy whereby the United States simply stole Indian land. (Under the theory of U.S. law, the United States claims to own all of the Indian land.)

Since the Indians clearly were the original owners of the land they now have, and since there is no proof that the Indians ever sold that land or gave away the title to that land, the question naturally arose concerning the theory by which the U.S. could claim title to it. The answer to that question has been, quite cynically, that the U.S. has become the "trustee" of the Indian land because the Indians, like children, are incompetent to take care of their own property. Because of this incompetence, the theory goes, the U.S. has assumed a responsibility to "hold" it "for the benefit" of the Indian people.

Well, that's hogwash! The United States should just admit that they don't own it (the land) and that they never did own it. Why don't they admit that they were wrong? Why don't they admit that they don't own it?

These green eyeshade people own at the Bureau of Indian Affairs make their lifelong work being trustees for land that they don't even own. The theory is that the Bureau of Indian Affairs is holding the land for the benefit of the Indian people. If Indian people want any kind of federal assistance at all, they must go to the federal government, and they must accede to federal domination. All the money, literally comes from the Bureau or other branches of the government. All the food comes from there. You can't take a sovereign point of view except at enormous sacrifice. The old people on Pine Ridge need that food.

It ought to be unconstitutional and illegal to do that. By what right does the United States declare itself the trustee of the Indian lands? The United States has been



Tim Coulter consulting with Six Nations chiefs during Geneva Conference

able to do it, and to get away with it, because the United States simply wants to steal Indian lands.

I simply don't understand all the efforts to use the trust relationship as the basis for the protection of Indian rights. I don't see why intelligent lawyers try to insist that Indian treaties are not like other international treaties. They seem to assert that the United States law is wonderful and favorable toward Indian people, and that the route to survival is to improve the internal law of the United States. I just don't get it.

They say that Indian treaties aren't like international treaties because Congress can abrogate them. But that's circular. They are not like international treaties because the U.S. doesn't abide by international law! That doesn't prove that the Indian treaties are not like international treaties — it proves that the United States is violating international law! One thing is as true as another.

Well, they say the trust responsibility is something that you need in U.S. law. But the trust responsibility is an invention of people who thought that there was something wrong with the notion that the U.S. could simply steal Indian land. The U.S. claims, in fact, to own all Indian land, with the exception of some Indian land in the original thirteen colonies.

The Maine land claim is an example of the problems associated with reliance on the trust responsibility theory. The Maine claim is vulnerable the way NARF lawyers have presented the claim. Penobscot and Passamaquoddy people may have rights under international law which the United States could not validly extinguish. On the other hand, they have virtually no rights under U.S. law which cannot be destroyed by Congress.

Tom Tureen, (the NARF attorney on the case) is aware of this and the hasn't talked about it much. His position is that it would be unconstitutional for Congress to extinguish the claim. But to my knowledge, there has been no case ever where the power of Congress to extinguish claims has been successfully challenged.

To my way of thinking, it probably is unconstitutional. Tom is right about that much. But even if it is unconstitutional, there is the problem that the courts still won't do anything about it because of the Political Question Doctrine.

It isn't legal, under international law, to steal land. The U.S. has recently begun to release control of Micronesia because of world opinion that it is no longer legal and acceptable to simply take land from people. South Africa is under pressure to release Namibia. In many cases, governments are pressured in the international community to give up ill-gotten gains. The fruits of aggression are simply illegal. At any rate, the U.S. has not claimed the right to take land under conquest. And with the Indians, I am not aware of any treaties of surrender.

There is no international forum which can physically enforce a judgment in a land claim. Claims are mostly dealt with through negotiations and arbitration, and so forth. But international law is enforced. International law is important — it does get enforced. South Africa really smarts over the problem created around the death of Stephen Biko. The U.S. goes berserk at claims that it has political prisoners. And I think that there will be some developments at the United Nations level which will deal with the problems of the enforcement of Indian rights.

Mohawks Evacuate Moss Lake Site

Mohawk people have occupied an area around Moss Lake in the Adirondack Mountains for more than four years, claiming that the land belongs to the Mohawk Nation, and weathering a plague of problems ranging from sub-arctic weather to racist attacks. The occupation has been part of a long-range strategy to force the State of New York to give recognition to the Mohawk Nation and the Six Nations, and to gain recognition of Native rights under the treaties. Last year, New York State officials and Ganienkeh spokesmen announced that an agreement had been reached whereby Ganienkeh people were to move to a new site located near Altoona, New York, in Clinton County. The agreement is carefully worded to affirm that neither New York State nor the Mohawk people have surrendered any claim to rights in the lands in question.

The Ganienkeh occupation arose out of the frustration experienced by Native people in their attempts to gain their rights under treaties, and also from an assertion that Native people have a right to their way of life. In May, 1974, a large group of Mohawk people occupied an abandoned former Girl Scout Camp which the state had purchased. The Mohawks claimed that the state had no right to the property. Mohawk spokesmen said that New York's claim to the Adirondack territory arose out of a 1797 treaty which was clearly a fraudulent treaty, and that the land properly belongs to the Mohawks.

New York State attempted several times to obtain court orders for the eviction of the Mohawk people, but was unsuccessful. Eventually a negotiated truce was reached whereby New York agreed to assist the Mohawks at Ganienkeh in the procurement of lands suitable for agricultural purposes. The lands which resulted from that agreement are located in Clinton County near Plattsburgh, New York. Mohawk people began moving to the land during the late spring and early summer of 1977. Final evacuation by Mohawk people of the Moss Lake site, location of the initial occupation, was announced on August 2, 1978.

Ganienkeh has survived for more than four years under extremely difficult conditions. People who have come to this community have on occasion experienced disappointment in the realization that conscious communities require great dedication and sacrifice on the part of the membership. Like other Native efforts at establishing community, Ganienkeh came under criticism largely from people who were, for one reason or another, unable to adapt to the work patterns or the material conditions, or were unable to survive the socialization process which accompanied the birth of a new community.

But the Ganienkeh effort must be understood by people who are even thinking about alternative communities. Ganienkeh suffered the entire spectrum of problems associated with alternative community. It has been under attack by the New York State police, has been the subject of FBI/COINTELPRO activity, and has been the focus of attack by local vigilante groups.

The community has served as a touching post for many Native people who are dissatisfied with the conditions they find on reservations. It would be fair to state that many of the people who came to Ganienkeh carried with them unrealistic expectations. When their expectations were disappointed, they often left with bitter words, stating that the camp lacked "spirituality" or that it was "not Indian enough." There have been some problems in the construction of a new community, it is true, but many problems arose because people arrived unprepared for the hardships and the problems which any new community presents. Others had simply failed to work out problems in their personal lives and met disappointment in the realization that sovereignty and self-sufficiency are products of dedication and sacrifice as well as opportunity.

The Ganienkeh community has survived. Houses have been built at the new site at Altoona. There are gardens planted, and, although there are many needs which have not been met, the community has every prospect of permanence.

New York's Secretary of State Mario Cuomo has come under severe criticism for his role in the negotiations leading to the resettlement of the Mohawk people. State Sen. James H. Donovan, in whose district the occupation occurred on May 13, 1974, said:

"Cuomo's so-called negotiation with a small group of Canadian renegades that took over the state's \$800,000



Moss Lake property consisted of giving them everything they wanted (in order) to get them out." He also said that Mr. Cuomo's "outrageous giveaways of taxpayers' property are a flagrant violation of the (state) constitution that Cuomo now wants to swear to uphold as lieutenant governor." Cuomo is running for lt. governor of New York State on the Democratic ticket.

New York State is presently involved in two lawsuits which arose out of shooting incidents at Ganienkeh on October 28, 1974. Stephen Drake and Aprile Madigan were wounded on two separate incidents three hours apart. Their lawyers have sued the state on the basis that the state had prior notice of potential danger, and had failed to take action which would have prevented the injuries. Drake stated that a favorable Court of Claims opinion had been unanimously affirmed by the Appellate Division in mid-June. The Court of Claims ruling stated that the Drake youth had a cause of action against the state.



THE FROG and THE POND

Recently some friends of ours sent us a slied show to review. The name of the presentation is: "The Frog and The Pond," and was created by Quaker people concerned about mercury poisoning.

The whole presentation lasts 25 minutes, but is powerful and very well put together. The complete package includes slides, carousel, script and other information relative to mercury poisoning.

The presentation focuses on the area north of Lake Superior, and the multi-national exploitation of this area. The presentation shows how this exploitation

affects the eco-system and all of its inhabitants. This is the homeland of the Cree and Ojibway, where the impact is the most immediate. There is particular emphasis on Grassy Narrows and White Dog Reserves where the Native People have become victims of Minamata disease.

But most importantly, the presentation has a lot to say to the viewers — the ones who benefit from all this destruction. For those who may be interested, "The Frog and The Pond" is available for \$65 from:

P.A.N.
R.D. 1, Box 56
Oneonta, New York 13820

We highly recommend for everyone to see.

OUR OWN PUBLICATIONS

A BASIC CALL TO CONSCIOUSNESS

This book is the latest publication of AKWESASNE NOTES. It is a compilation of the three position papers of the Hau de no sau nee, or Six Nations, and contains what is probably the most concise and comprehensive critique of Western Civilization through Native eyes in print, with a prologue from the editors of AKWESASNE NOTES. \$2.00

A Message To All People: Hopi

The Hopi Prophecy is important to all peoples today, for as we understand what has happened to human life in previous worlds, and in the days following the Creation of this one, we can better understand what we human beings need to do today. A different sort of history from that in the textbooks. This new edition is in newly-set type. Illustrated by Kahonhes. \$1.00.

Voices From Wounded Knee: The People Are Standing Up

This is the story of the liberation of Wounded Knee in the words of the participants, culled from hours of tape recorded while the occupation was in progress, accompanied by 200 striking photographs and several maps. This account is essential reading for anyone who wants to understand this episode of the struggle for human dignity and freedom in North America. Peter Lemon in the *Los Angeles Free Press* says: "A record of anger and courage, of pride and humanity, to be read with compassion and shame — and feelings of the heart for the greatness which broods upon the Sioux Reservation. 282 large-sized pages. \$5.95. Temporarily Out of Print."

Turtle, Bear and Wolf

A new book of poems by Peter Blue Cloud, former poetry editor of AKWESASNE NOTES. Songs of reverence and affirmation, taut as a bowstring. Gary Snyder says of this book: "Glimmering from below, in these poems, like the moon in the water, is that special eye, that light, which is of the true Mind-nature; human nature one with Mother Nature which is no particular nature. On this continent, the teaching is taught in the Old Way. Blue Cloud does nothing glamorous. He lives in the present, totally." \$1.75.

Chimborazo: Life On the Haciendas of Highland Ecuador. 66 pp. \$2.00, paperback. Published by AKWESASNE NOTES. Edited by John Brandi, with translations by Michael Scott and Mal Warwick. This book offers an unusual treatment of life in an Indian community in South America, with some serious and introspective commentary by the author. "I almost feel too damn educated and intellectual for this job. Because, for example, I want to start always with the most tangible problems: dividing the land, what to do with the hacienda, the water, the pasture, etc. But these people have never been allowed to make decisions. What they want is for *us* to tackle their problems, and after they learn that we can't, there is always a let-down. And they come around again, the ones that are really concerned, they begin to decipher what has passed on to them during the last few hundred years; they think of their grandfathers, they see their fathers, themselves; they think of their own sons. 'Who am I, an Indian?' they ask. And during these instances *it* when I feel almost blessed to be here." Whit photographs and poetry.

Native Colours

A book of poetry by Karoniaktatie. "He is an explorer with an open and unique perspective. If you remember the search to find your own hill, or valley, or garret (Karoniaktatie calls it 'a place/ to plant my seeds')— or if you're still looking — this collection could add some insights and fresh directions to your journey. 'In time you'll wonder/ in time you shall /travel / in time you will / cease...' The approach here binds two cultures — it is an interesting marriage, enhanced by Karoniaktatie's striking designs and illustrations." \$2.50.

BIA: I'm Not Your Indian Anymore

A fresh new printing of this important book is in. Part of it, the story of the occupation of the BIA takeover in November, 1972, is now history. But out of that came the Twenty Points of the Trail of Broken Treaties, still the most comprehensive platform of "What do the Indians want" available. The Twenty Points, plus the government's rebuttal and a reply to that, are essential dialogue for the decade ahead. \$1.95.



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VOICES FROM THE EARTH

As the official replacement of "White Roots of Peace," VOICES FROM THE EARTH is carrying on the work of travelling and presenting the message of the Native people. We plan our trips twice a year, in the early Spring (March - April) and the late Fall (November - December). This allows us time to work on the paper and also to tend our gardens and other activities.

Our group ranges in size from 6 to 16 persons. In this way, we have a number of speakers, singers, and other persons with which to make our presentations. An average day for the group consists of presenting several

talks or leading discussion groups, guest lecturing in classes, conducting a crafts show and sale, showing films, and an evening presentation to a general audience. We have found that we can communicate to a large number of people and also provide an experience and insight into the direction of the Native movement from several viewpoints. Since our beginning we have logged over 400,000 miles, and have visited hundreds of campuses, communities, and organizations. We feel that we have had an opportunity to bring about better understanding of the Native peoples, their goals and desires, and possibly, we have helped to show some alternatives to the conditions we all face as human beings. Our Fall tour through the East Coast, the Midwest, and the Southwest is being organized now.

For further details please contact:

AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via: Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683
Tel. (518) 483-2540

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NORTHERN PLAINS

SOCIAL SONGS OF THE ARAPAHO SUN DANCE - 6080 Eight songs by Wind River Singers, Felix Groesbeck, Duane Tillman, Clark Trumbull, Jr., Mervin Brown, Irma Groesbeck, Ambrosia Harris, Fort Washakie, Wyoming.

ARAPAHO WAR DANCE SONGS AND ROUND DANCES - 6092. Four war dance songs and four round dances by the Wind River Singers, Felix Groesbeck, Duane Tillman, Clark Trumbull, Jr., Mervin Brown, Irma Groesbeck, Ambrosia Harris, Fort Washakie, Wyoming.

FROM THE LAND OF THE BLACKFEET - 6095. Pat Kennedy and Blackfeet Singers, Browning, Montana. Fast and Slow Grass Dance Songs, Owl Dances, and Circle Dances.

BLACKFEET POW-WOW SONGS - 6119. Eleven war dance songs (slow, medium, and fast) and one Crow hop song by Pat Kennedy and the Blackfeet Singers (Thomas NorRunner, Edwin Calfrope, Victor Surechief).

YOUNG GREY HORSE SOCIETY - SIOUX
Songs of the Blackfeet - 6164. The Original Grey Horse Society Songs, plus ten grass dance and owl dance songs from Montana by the Young Grey Horse Society - Wayne Bear Medicine, leader, and fourteen more singers. STEREO.

CREE POW-WOW SONGS - 6091. Eleven pow-wow songs from Rocky Boy's Reservation, Montana, by the Parker Singers, a popular Chippewa-Cree group who have appeared at most major pow-wows and fairs throughout the Northern United States and Canada. Vidal Stump Standing Rock, Russell Standing Rock, Douglas Standing Rock, Kenneth Standing Rock, William Standing Rock, Joe Standing Rock, Kenny Writing Bird, and Irvin L. Denny.

POW-WOW SONGS FROM ROCKY BOY - 6104. Fourteen songs by the Haystack Ramblers of the Rocky Boy Reservation in Montana. Charles Gopher, leader; John G. Meyers, Robert Favel, Rocky Stump, John Windy Boy. Jacket Cover design by Vernon the Boy, prize-winning artist of the Rocky Boy Reservation. STEREO.

POW-WOW SONGS FROM ROCKY BOY Volume 2 - 6154. Twelve songs all made in the early winter of 1976 for the summer pow-wows. Sung by the Rocky Boys (Chippewa-Cree): Rocky Stump, Alvin Windy Boy, John Windy Boy and Charles Gopher. STEREO.

STICK GAME SONGS - 6105. A live recording of a stick game in progress during the Arlee Pow-Wow on the Flathead reservation, Montana. Recorded by permission of the 1972 Pow-Wow Committee, Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes. Jacket notes included. STEREO.

SIOUX FAVORITES - 6059. Fourteen selections which our Sioux listeners have made their favorites through the years. A collection of love songs, honor songs, grass, Omaha and rabbit dances by singers from Ft. Thompson, Cheyenne River, Pine Ridge and Rosebud. Album includes the Sioux National Anthem as sung by William Horncloud.

SONGS OF THE SIOUX - 6062. Recorded on the Rosebud, Sioux Reservation in South Dakota, by F. Dennis Lessard. Featured in this album are Omaha Songs, Penny Song, Grass Dance Songs, Kettle Dance Songs and Round Dance Songs. Cover illustration is a historic photograph of Rosebud Sioux Singers and dancers taken in 1900.

FORT KIPP SIOUX SINGERS - 6079. An album of War Dance Songs by one of the great singing groups of the Northern Plains. Includes *Canadian Flag Song* sung by Sioux Valley Singers and *United States Flag Song* by Fort Kipp Singers. Album recorded live during Fort Qu'Appelle Celebration, summer, 1971.

MONTANA GRASS SONGS by the FORT KIPP SINGERS - 6101. Another album by this fine group from Popular, Montana. James Black Dog; Matt Black Dog, Sr.; Archie Bearcuv, Sr.; Gary Red Eagle; Clifford Young Bear; Gary Drum; Jerry White Cloud; Ben Gray Hawk, Jr. STEREO.

FORT KIPP CELEBRATION - 6152. This is the third album by the Fort Kipp Singers, an outstanding Siouan Group from Montana. Contains twelve songs, including *Fort Kipp Theme Song*, Kahomni and grass dance songs. Nineteen singers participated in this recording including Jim Black Dog, Clifford Young Bear, Jerry White Cloud and Eunice Alfrey.

WILLIAM HORNCLOUD SINGS SIOUX RABBIT SONGS - 6081. Thirteen of the favorite rabbit songs, sung as only Bill Horncloud can sing them! None of these have been previously recorded. Jacket notes include the story of the first Rabbit Dance, as well as Horncloud's translation of each of these amusing songs.

SIOUX SONGS OF WAR AND LOVE - 6150. Eleven songs sung by William Horncloud and a special Honor Song by Chief Charles Red Cloud. These songs express a wide range of Lakota values; the honor of a chief, the boastfulness of a warrior and the emotions of young people in love. Included among the war songs are songs that tell of battles against the Pawnee, Crow and Germans. STEREO.

SIOUX GRASS SONGS AND ROUND DANCES - 6086
Five grass songs and six round dances by the St. Michael's Singers of St. Michael, North Dakota; Ephraim Hill, Eugene Redday. Record jacket contains descriptive material on the music, dances, costume, and Pow Wow celebration.

SISSETON-WAHPETON SONGS - 6112. Twelve traditional Sioux songs including grass, rabbit, shake and round dances plus flag, contest and veterans' songs. The Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux Singers: James Thompson, Charles Two Stars, Nathan Thompson, and Gerald Thompson.

ARAPAHO WAR DANCE SONGS AND ROUND DANCES - 6092
Four war dance songs and four round dances by the Wind River Singers, Felix Groesbeck, Duane Tillman, Clark Trumbull, Jr., Mervin Brown, Irma Groesbeck, Ambrosia Harris, Fort Washakie, Wyoming.

Six Nations Indian Museum Series

The Great Law of Peace

This is the Constitution of the Iroquois Confederacy, portions of which were adopted in the U.S. Constitution. It is a statement of morals, spiritual belief, and government which is 1,000 years old - and which remains valid for use today. 84 pages, paperbound. Illustrated by Kahonhes. \$1.25.

The Migration of the Iroquois

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Deskaheh

A new book in this series, detailing the life of the Cayuga statesman who went to the League of Nations in Switzerland in the 1920s to present the case of sovereignty for the Iroquois peoples. He was exiled from Canada and died in the U.S. His last famous speech is reprinted. Illustrated by Kahonhes. 50 cents.

Tales of the Iroquois

This attractive collection of fifteen teaching legends of the Iroquois is part of the Six Nations Indian Museum Series published by AKWESASNE NOTES. The book is 99 pages, softbound cover, with striking illustrations by Kahonhes. The tales are as Tehanetorens remembers them being told to him. For many of them, along with the text, are pictographs which tell the story - and aid non-readers in remembering the story. *Tales of the Iroquois* is a unique gift for children or adults and is excellent for use in classrooms. ISBN 0-914838-14-8. \$2.50.

Order From:
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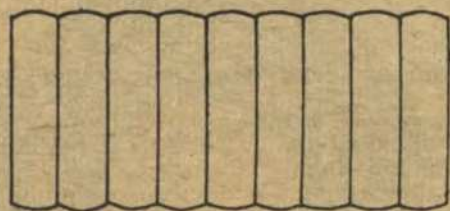
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Omaha Tribe, by Alice C. Fletcher and Francis La Flesche. Two vol. set, \$3.50 each volume.

Parker on the Iroquois, by Arthur Parker. Valuable reference work. **only in hardcover \$12.95**
Pole Building Construction, by Merrilees & Loveday. People at Akwesasne Notes are just completing two buildings using the ideas of this book. \$4.95.

Pomo Basket Making, by Elsie Allen. Supreme Art for the weaver. \$2.50.

Potlatch, by George Clutesi. An account of this ceremony by one of the participants. \$2.95.

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by Susan Feldman, *Myths and Tales of the American Indians*, \$.95.
Story Telling Stone,

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Tales From the Igloo, by Maurice Metayer. Twenty-two tales from the Inuit. \$3.95.

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the Bird in the Sugarbush. Excellent for children. \$1.25.

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World's Rim, by Hartley Burr Alexander. Great Mysteries of the North American Indian. \$2.95.

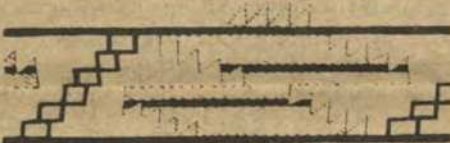
Wounded Knee, by Dee Brown. An Indian history of the west. \$1.50.

NEW BOOKS NEW BOOKS NEW BOOKS

The Live and Death of Anna Mae Aquash, by Johanna Brand. The startling story of a Micmac victim in the secret war between the FBI and the American Indian Movement. 6.95.

Stone Giants & Flying Heads, by Joseph Bruchac. Illustrated by Kahonhes & Clayton Brascoupe. \$3.95

not available until september 1



reviews

TEWAARATHON (Lacrosse): Akwesasne's Story of Our National Game, by the North American Indian Travelling College, published by N.A.I.T.C., R.R.3, Cornwall Island, Ontario. \$15 paperback, \$20 hardcover. 234 pages.

There are a number of technical weaknesses manifested in this book, and the reader will probably wish, as I did, that the authors would make a much greater attempt to give some identification to the many photographs in the text. Still, TEWAARATHON does represent a refreshing approach to the history of a sport, especially in view of the contemporary format by which sports are treated.

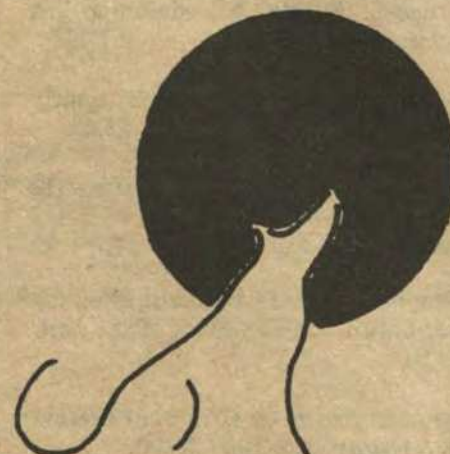
A fairly substantial section, which is profusely illustrated with drawings, treats the spiritual and Natural World origins of lacrosse, a field sport much like hockey which demands a high degree of skill and endurance. It is the first book that we ever saw that tries to give an honest view of a field sport and its relationship to the world, to the people, the animals, the plants, and to the processes of life.

It is also the only book we have seen

that originates in a community and can trace its history down through real human characters who are intimately connected to one another. Somehow, it relates the ways in which lacrosse historically provided some of the glue of community, and one can see that there was a time in human history when games were not played by highly-paid professionals for the purpose of spectator consumption, but were a visible and viable part of community life.

In addition to that, the book is a valuable addition to the growing history of the Akwesasne community, especially since around 1883. If there is a weakness to the book, other than its technical composition, it is that it tends to see Akwesasne as a kind of fountainhead of lacrosse activity in the Indian world. There are other Indian communities which would dispute that vision. They have all produced champions and championship teams at times, and lacrosse has meant a lot to all of them. Certainly, one cannot project an adequate history of the iroquois communities without mention of lacrosse. Many of the great leaders of the Six Nations were lacrosse players in their youth.

Despite its weaknesses, this book should be of interest to a wide audience. We would especially recommend it to young people interested in sports. It is a unique and refreshing account of a thrilling game, and it is written at a level that junior high school students should have no difficulty understanding. The chapter on the making of lacrosse sticks is the best and most interesting that we have seen, and the history of the lacrosse stick manufacturing business on Cornwall Island is probably the best account of the rise of a locally-controlled light industry on an Indian territory in print. Serious scholars will find the work to be a unique example of an almost folk history of an Indian community, one which gives insights into the character of Akwesasne found, to our knowledge, nowhere else.



LETTERS LETTERS LETT

Notes:

Three weeks ago there was a UPI or Ap news item to the effect that 60 or so Kickapoo Native Americans were petitioning the Mexican government for readmission to Mexico as Mexican citizens. The story indicated the group was living under a bridge between Juarez, Mexico and El Paso, Texas, seemingly unwanted by either nation.

The Kickapoo were ousted from the Kickapoo River Valley in Wisconsin by the U.S. cavalry and forced to reside in Oklahoma. Half of the group then "jumped the reservation" and went to live south of Juarez, in Mexico. Their descendants have worked as migrant laborers in Arizona, New Mexico, etc., during the 1950s and 1960s. They also came back to Wisconsin to pick cherries in Door County, some 250 miles east of their former lands. These individuals had adopted Spanish first names and taught him Kickapoo from Spanish.

Ed Mason
Madison, Wis.

Notes:

I have been reading AKWESASNE NOTES for a long time, probably since the newspaper first started. In our part of the country, the newspaper is read by a large majority of the Indian people.

There is no doubt that NOTES plays a major role and probably is the central organ of the Native people's struggle here in North America. I think we are all aware of that, and most of us are appreciative of this important function.

For quite some time, I and other Indian people have been troubled in reading this newspaper. It took us quite a while to figure out why we did not have the "whole" feeling, and a "good" feeling that it seemed earlier publications gave the reader. I think the problem is that NOTES is losing some of the humor that we Indian people are known for. Also, news from around Indian Country that used to be written now is omitted, I guess because of its insignificance to the "struggle." It is easy in our frustration to continue our fight in North America and to forget some of the pleasantries and good feelings that Indian People have always maintained even in worse times. Let us hope that NOTES does not forget that part of us. Migwetch

Joe Kigendan
Ishgonigan, Minn.



Notes:

Enclosed is a news item that appeared in the DAILY OKLAHOMAN, the largest newspaper in the Oklahoma City area. This is a pretty clear account of justice here in Oklahoma. This case needs more attention than it is receiving; by not exposing the case for what it is, the judicial system is eroded as it applies to Native people. I send this in hopes that through your publication it will receive more attention.

Turner Harjo
Rte One,
Uktaha, Oklahoma

(The newsclipping states that a 16-year old youth, Carlton Grass, has been charged with the death of 20-year old Steve Voight of Bantlesville, Oklahoma. Grass is charged with first degree murder in the beating death of Voight, a Chillocco Indian School student. He is being tried by the state and not the federal government. Defense attorneys had tried to have the case tried in federal court. They argued that the school is an Indian reservation, and not subject to the criminal laws of Oklahoma. District Judge Roger Mullins ruled that the school is a boarding and industrial institution only, and is not under federal jurisdiction in such matters.)



Notes:

Colstrip update: The more than \$1 billion project, which has been contending with government agencies for five years now, was denied a construction permit by the EPA in early June.

The federal agency's Denver office said the proposed plant would violate Northern Cheyenne air quality standards 19 times in three years.

"This is not a close call," said EPA regional administrator Alan Merson. "The [computer] model predicts numerous and substantial violations, and the law says clearly we cannot permit more than one violation per year."

Acknowledging the utilities' claims that the Northwest would face power shortages and an economic slump if the plants are not built, the EPA's Merson said, "We have, quite frankly, bent over backwards to allow the company to make its best case."

The five utilities proposing the 700-megawatt units claim there is no more efficient technology available for pollution control than that which they had planned to install on the plants. The power companies have until early August to appeal the EPA ruling to the U.S. Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco.

There are two suits already pending which would affect the EPA Colstrip ruling. In one court action, several power companies, including Montana Power, were joined by the Cheyenne's neighbors, the Crow, in an effort to overturn the Northern Cheyenne's Class I designation. Also before the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals is a suit questioning whether the Colstrip plant is exempt from provisions of the 1977 Clean Air Act Amendments.

Dan McIntyre
for BORROWED TIMES

1979 LUNAR CALENDAR

The AKWESASNE NOTES Calendar for 1979 will be ready in late September. The 1979 Calendar will feature drawings by a number of different Native artists. Each page is a separate work of art you will treasure.

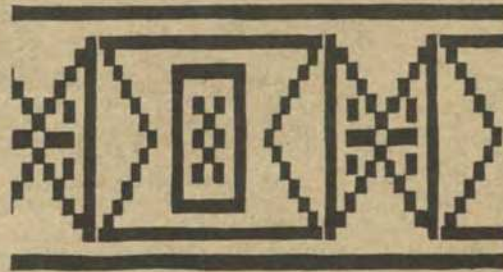
We urge you to order now. Many of our friends were disappointed last year because we did not have enough calendars to fill all the orders we received.

Calendars can be sent as gifts, each mailed separately to an address you have supplied to us, or we can supply them to you in quantities for distribution in your own way. Each calendar you buy helps to support the work of AKWESASNE NOTES.

The price is \$3.50 per calendar, including postage and handling. Overseas orders please add an extra \$1.00 for postage. Individual calendar orders must be prepaid.



Kowannadahah (Hattie Chub) passed into the spirit world on May 29, 1978. She was eighty-nine. Kowannadahah was a strong woman, a grandmother, and a lifelong supporter of the Mohawk Nation and the Six Nations. Her life was spent upholding the ideals of the Indian Way of life, and she was an inspiration and a teacher to many. She will be missed in her homeland at Akwesasne.



The Council for Native American Indian Progress has two pen pal information lists available, free of charge, for the readers of AKWESASNE NOTES. One list contains schools serving American Indian students who wish to be involved in a pen pal program. The other lists contains information about several pen pal organizations that provide, free of charge, the names of pen pals from various parts of the world as well as all parts of the United States.

Requests for one or both lists should be sent, with a stamped, self addressed envelope, to:

Council for Native American Indian Progress, Inc.
280 Broadway, Suite 316
New York, New York 10007



WARRIOR'S WALK

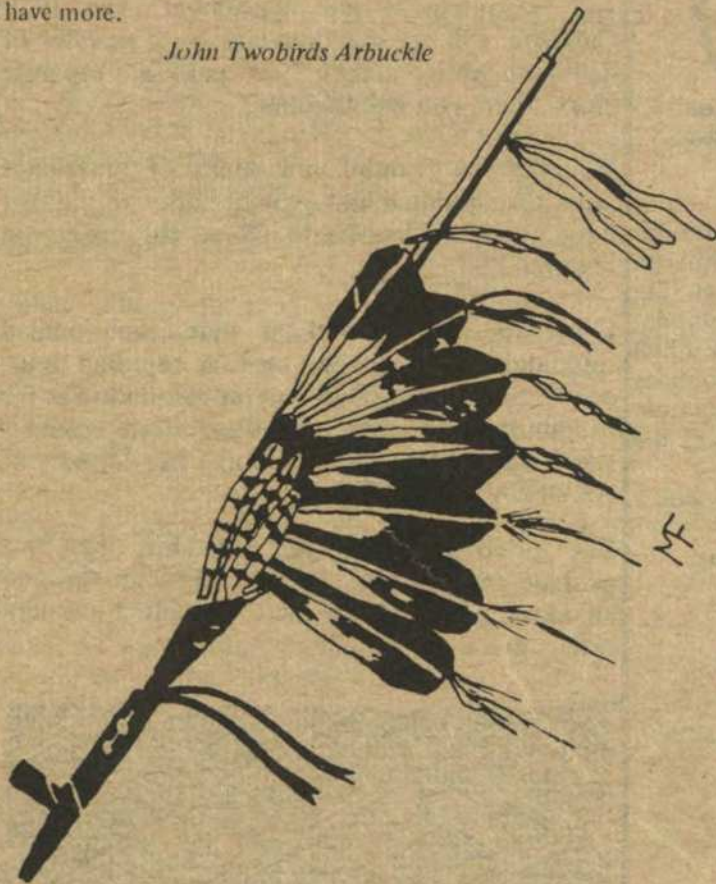
When warriors walk
Children laugh
Women smile
Ole men sing
The People are happy
Again
Where warriors walk
Flowers grow
Waters run
The Sky is blue
The Way is safe
Again
What warriors walk
Is a way
Is an understanding
Is a knowledge
Is a vision that is their own
Again
Walk warriors walk
Your Mother waits
Your Father waits
Your People wait!
I wait
Again.

John Twobirds Arbuckle

I HAVE MORE

I cannot imagine
A people with no home
Yet every day
I see them
Wandering, wondering
Aimlessly about
Searching, seeking
For roots and things
That will give
Life
Some meaning
Poor white man
In your fury
In your wealth
You have lost
Your heritage
And now want mine
To be yours
Here
Take it
I have more.

John Twobirds Arbuckle



POETRY

LONELY WARRIOR

i am a lonely warrior
without a people
without a land
where his people could grow
without hope
without strong winds
that could blow
lonely warrior
no one gave him his name
no one calls him this way
nobody lets him feel
like a warrior
but let him walk alone
towards the sun
the everlasting creation
that wants him to be
an everlasting warrior

Armin

strong winds
purifying
songs of yesterday
the breath of
tomorrow
purifying
now
carrying
a happiness heavenwards
Their voice is like
the touch
of a cold rain
Move the twigs
the blades and hair
leaves green
and whistling rocks
purifying winds
whispering
a motion
reflecting
sacred words

Sing it out for the last time —
The love that I feel
For hair of night and skin of earth —
Am I alone
In the Goodness and Wisdom
And Truth I have found
In the Gifts of a People
Not my own?

Sing it out for the last time —
Their Beauty — and Pain
For the Values we'll lose
For the Money we'll gain.

WILL THE LAWS OF OUR NATION
MEET HUMAN NEED?

WHAT IS STRONGER —
THW POWER OF JUSTICE OR GREED?

WILL THE WINGS OF OUR EAGLE
LIFT FREEDOM ABOVE
THE CLOUDS OF SELF-INTEREST
TO RAINBOWS OF LOVE?

Sing it out for the last time —
The love that I feel
For hair of night and skin of earth —
AM I ALONE?

LOOK INWARD, MY PEOPLE,
BEFORE WE DECIDE
TO BE KNOWN AS A NATION
WHOSE SPIRIT HAS DIED.

Janice Romero



The young warrior coraking,
backtracks to his land.
Vein ditches run shallow.
In salt grass meadows,
the lonely pond is dying
in deference to the ocien
he has seen.
Crayfish flail in shrinking slime
and blaspheme the sun.
Along the curdling shore,
carp bones pier above alkali.
In Omaha, Indians stagger
inside the Greyhound station.

The young warrior croaking,
backtracks to their land.
He has dusted needling dreams
that white vacuum of breath.
In the gasp, the land,
forever a mother.
Gaunt arrowheads are resurrected
by old glory winds
raking sand.
Above the valley,
near larger ponds
poppys flame to ashen harvest.
In Omaha, Indians stagger
inside the Greyhound station.
Adrian C. Louis
Providence, R.I.